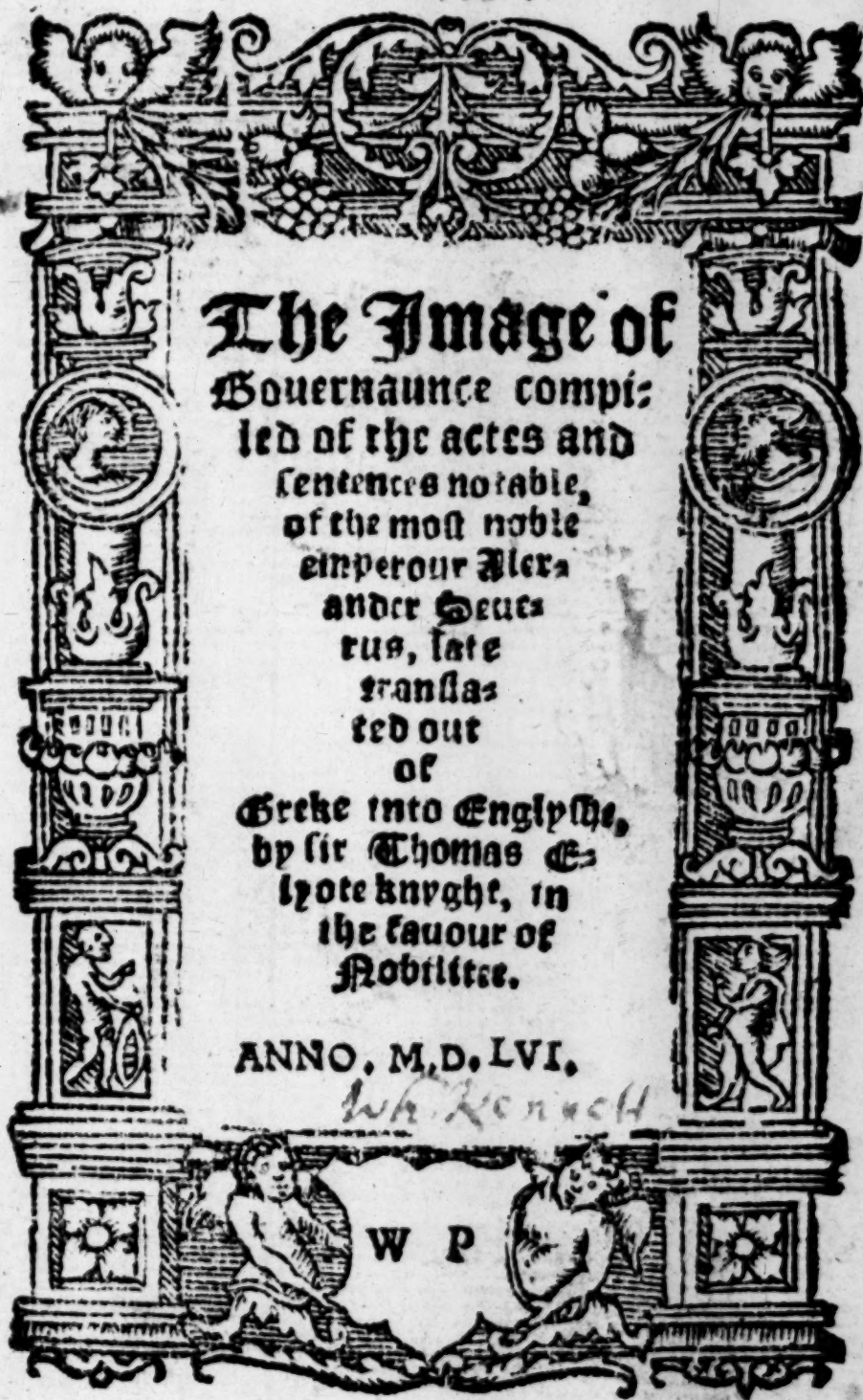


William Seyhord  
1580



**The Image of**  
Bouernaunce compic:  
led of the actes and  
Sentences notable,  
of the most noble  
emperour Alex  
ander Seuer  
rus, late  
translas  
ted out  
of  
Greke into Englyshe,  
by sir Thomas  
Lyote knyght, in  
the fauour of  
Nobilittee.

ANNO. M.D. LVI.

W. R. Kennell

W P



2

## THE PREFACE.

**T**o all the nobilitie of  
this flourysshynge realme of Eng:  
land. Thomas Elyote knyght  
desyreth increase of vertue,  
and honour.



**S**I late was

serchinge amonge my  
bokes, to fynde some  
argument, in the reas-  
dynge whercof I  
mought recreate my  
spyrtes, beyng al:

most farygate with the longe studye a-  
bout the correctynge and ampliaryng  
of my Dictionarie, of Latin and Eng-  
lyshe, I happened to fynde certeyne  
quayres of paper, whiche I had wyrt-  
ten about nine yeres passed: wherein  
were contrigned the actes and senten-  
ces notable, of the mosse noble Empe-  
roure Alexander, for his wysedome and  
grauitie called Seuerus, whiche boke  
was fyrst wyrtten in the Greke tonge  
by his secretarie named Eucolpius,  
and by good chaunce was lente vnto

A ii

me

## THE PREFACE.

me by a gentill man of Naples called  
Pudericus. In readinge whereof  
I was maruailouselic rayfshed, and  
as it hath been ever mine appetyte,  
I wysshed that it hadde been publy:  
shed in suche a tounge, as moe men  
mought vnderstande it. Wherefore  
with all diligence I endeuoured my  
selfe whiles I had leysour, to trans:  
late it into englyshe: all be it I coulde  
not so exactly performe mine enter:  
prise, as I mought haue done, if the  
owner had not importunately called  
for his booke, wherby I was constrei:  
gned to leaue some part of the worke  
vnttranslated: whiche I made vp, as  
well as I coulde, with some other  
Auctours, as well latines as greekes,  
haupng this booke in my hande I re:  
membred, that in my booke named the  
Gouernour, I promysed to wyte a  
booke of the fourme of good gouer:  
naunce: And for as muche as in this  
booke was exprested of gouernance  
so perfyte an image, I supposed, that  
I shoulde sufficiently discharge my  
selfe of my promyse, if I did now pu:  
blishe this booke, which (excepte I be  
much



## THE PREFACE.

muchē deceiued) Shall mynyshe to the  
wise readers bothe pleasure and pro-  
fyte. Then did I eftsoones peruse it,  
and with moze exacte diligence con-  
forme the stile therof with the phrase  
of our englishe, desirynge moze to make  
it playne to all readers, than to flou-  
rishe it with ouer muche eloquence.

Which booke I doe dedicate vnto you  
noble lordes, gentyll knightes, and  
other in the state of honour, or wor-  
ship, as beyng mosse ready to be ad-  
uaunced to gouernaunce vnder your  
Prince: so that your vertues be cor-  
respondent vnto your fortune. Yet  
am I not ignozant, that dyuers there  
be, whiche doe not thankfully esteeme  
my labours, displaying my studies  
as vayne and vnprofitable, saying in  
derision, that I haue nothyng wonne  
therby, but the name onely of a mar-  
ker of bookes, and that I set the trees,  
but the Winter eateth the fruites.

In dedde although disdeigne and en-  
uie dooc cause them to speake it, yet  
will I not denie, but that they saie  
truely: for if I wolde haue employed  
my studie aboute the increase of my

## THE PREFACE.

private commoditie, whiche I haue  
 spent in wytyng of booke for others  
 necessitee, fewe men doubt (I sup-  
 pose) that dooe knowe me, but that I  
 shulde haue atteyned ere this tyme  
 to haue byn muche more welthy, and  
 in respecte of the worlde in a more es-  
 timation. But to excuse me of follie,  
 I wyl professe without arrogauce,  
 that when I considered, that cun-  
 nyng continueth when fortune flye-  
 teth, hauing also ringyng alwaye in  
 mine eare, the terrible checke that the  
 good maister in the gospel gaue to his  
 idell seruaunt, for hyding his money  
 in a cloute, and not dysposyng it for  
 his maisters aduantage, those twoo  
 wordes, *serue nequam*, so sterted my  
 spyrites, that it caused me to take  
 more regarde to my laste rickenyng,  
 then to anye rychesse or wordely pro-  
 mocion. And althoughe I dooe ney-  
 ther dyspute nor expounde holy scrip-  
 ture, yet in suche woorkes as I haue  
 and entende to sette forth, my pooze  
 talent shall be, Godde wyllinge, in  
 suche wyse bestowed, that noe mans  
 conseyence shall be therewith offens-  
 ded,

Mat. 8.

## THE PREFACE.

ded, my booke called the **Bouernour**,  
instructyng men in suche vertues as  
shall be expediente for theym, whiche  
shall haue auctoritie in a weale publike.  
The Doctrinall of Prynces, whiche  
are but the counsayles of wyse **Soc-**  
**rates**, inducynge into noble mennes  
wyttes honest opinions. The **Educa-**  
**cion** of childrene, whiche also I trans-  
lated out of the wyse **Plutarche**, mak-  
kyng men and women, whiche wyll  
folowe those rules, to be well worthy  
to be fathers and mothers. The **lyttle**  
**Basquill**, althoughe he be mery and  
playne, teachynge aswell seruauntes  
howe to be faythfull vnto theyr may-  
sters, as also maisters howe to be cy-  
cumspecte in espying of flatterers. Se-  
blablie the office of a good counsaylour  
with magnanimitie or good courage  
in tyme of aduersitie, maye bee ap-  
parauntly founded in my booke called,  
**Of the knoweledge belongynge to a**  
**wyse man**. In readynge the sermon of  
sainct **Cyprian** by me translated, the  
deuout reader shall finde no lyttle com-  
forte in plagues or calamities. The  
**Bankette of Sapience** is not fastidi-  
ous,



## THE PREFACE.

use, and in lytle rounge sheweth out  
of holie scripture many wyse senten-  
ces. The Castell of health beyng  
truely read, shall longe preserve men  
(beyng some phisicions neuer so an-  
grie) from peryllouse sycknesse. My  
lytle booke called the Defence of good  
women, not onely confoundeth vyl-  
lains report, but also teacheth  
good wyues to knowe well theyr dui-  
ties. My Dictionarie Declaryng La-  
tine by Englyshe, by that tyme that I  
haue performed it, it shall not onely  
serue for childzen, as men haue erce-  
pted it, but also shall be commodious  
for them, which perchaunce be well  
learned. And this present booke, whi-  
che I haue named the *Image of Gouer-  
naunce*, shall be to all them whiche  
wylle reade it sincerely, a veray true  
paterne, wherby they maye shape all  
theyr procedynges. And in none of  
these woorkes I dare undertake, a  
man shall fynde any sentence against  
the commaundementes of God, the  
true catholike faierh, or occasion to  
steele men to wanton deuises. Where-  
fore I trust vnto God, mine accompt  
shall

## THE PREFACE.

Shall of hym bee fauourable accē-  
pred: althoughe some ingrate person  
with ill repoꝛte or mockes requiꝛe ill  
my laboures: to whome I wyl onely  
recyꝛe this merꝛe fable of Escopē,  
wꝛiten by Maximus Planudes.

¶ A good woman had an husbāde,  
who wolde be often tynes drunken,  
wherwith she beyng ashamed, and  
deuysyng by what meane she myghte  
cause him to leaue that horrible vice,  
at the laste whan he was a sleepe, she  
caried hym vnto the charnell house,  
wherin were put the bones of deade  
men, and leauyng him lyeing there, she  
made faste the dooze, and departed.

And whan she thought that he was  
wakyng, she takyng with hir bread  
and meate, retourned to the charnell  
house, and knocked at the dooze, hir  
husbāde faintly asked who knocked  
there, the good woman answered, I  
which haue brought meate with me  
foꝛ the deade men, peace saied hir  
husbāde, thou increasest my payne  
in speakyng of meate, bryng me so ne  
drinke I beleche the. That hearyng  
the good woman, alas saied she that  
euer

## THE PREFACE.

4  
euer I was borne, for this vyce gotten by custome, my housbande hath made it a naturall habyte whiche wyll neuer forlake hym.

¶ This fable nedeth no declaracyon: for euery man maye perceaue what it meaneth. Moreover many beinge ignorant of good letters, doe vniuersally reprove all them that be studious in learnynge, allegynge this common prouerbe. The greatest clerkes be not the wylest men: affirminge that they be founde negligent aboute theyr owne profyte, and consequently vnapt to the ministracion of thynges of weyghy importance. Howe vntreue theyr allegations be, and on howe feble a foundation they are buylded, it shall in this wyse appere vnto wyle men.

¶ For the sayde prouerbe seemethe by hym, whiche lacked learnynge, to be deuysed, sence that he preferreth ignorance before cunnynge, whiche arrogance declared hym to be a very foole, and vnwytrie: consyderynge that by knowledg most chiefly, a man excelleth all other mortall creatures, and thereby is moste lyke vnto God. And  
learning



## THE PREFACE.

learnynge is none other thyng, but an aggregation of many mens sentences and actes to the augmentacyon of knowledge. And yf some learned men doe neglecte theyr temporall commodities, it is for one of these causes: eyther bycause they haue byn so desyrous of knowledge, and in respecte therof esteemed so lytle all other pleasures, that they thought the tyme all to lytle, whiche they dyd spende in it, holdynge them selues with that whiche serued for natures necessitie ryght well contented: or els lyke as the greathounde that was sente to greate Alexander by the kynge of Albania, whan there were shewed vnto hym seuerally a great harte, a boze, and a beare, he wouchred not saufe to loke on them but lay still wagginge his tayle: then was there brought forth a greate lyon, to whom he dyd arysle softely, and ferynge vp his bystels, and shewing his teerh, flceyng to the Lyon, lightly strangled hym. Afterward a puissaunt Olyphant being brought to the place, the grehounde seming to reioyce at the greatnes of the beast, roused him, and  
after

## THE PREFACE.

after two or three questynges, he lepe  
to the great Olyphante, and after a  
longe fight ouerthrew hym and kyl-  
led hym. So I doubt not but that  
some men there be liuyng, in whom  
is suche courage, that in thynges of  
little importaunce maie seeme to be  
negligent, disdeignyng as it were to  
spende theyr wittes or labours about  
the pelfrie of riches: whiche beeyng  
ones called to auctoritee, ioygued  
with libertee, will inforce theim sel-  
fes to make theyr mynystracions no-  
ble and excellent. Suche were So-  
lon, Aristides, and Phocion in Athe-  
nes: Publicola, Fabricius, Curius,  
and Cato Uticensis at Rome, whose  
liues I would to god were in englishe,  
and the lyke be now liuyng, if they  
were sought for.

¶ And for the confutation of that pe-  
riferous opinion, the greate learned  
men be vnapt to the ministracion of  
thynges of weighty importance, this  
shall be sufficient. Firste, as I late  
saied, learnyng is the augmentation  
of knowlege, whiche the more it is,  
the more may be perceined what shall  
be most

## THE PREFACE.

he moſte neceſſary in thynges, that happen in conſultacion: and the more it is perceiued, the better and more aptly maye it be mynſtered and executed. Examples we haue of Moyses, who being excellently learned in the moſt diſcuſſe doctrines of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, was by almighty God choſen to guyde and rule his people, which were innumerable and moſt frowarde of nature: and with what wonderfull wiſedome and patience dyd he gouerne them by the ſpace of .xl. yeres, being without any citiees, townees, or any certeyne poſſeſſions? Who were better leders of armies then great Alexander, Scipio, Lucullus, and Ceſar, whiche were men all of great learning? Who better handled mattiers of weighty importance then Octavian called Auguſtus, Hadrian, Marcus Antonius, Alexander Seuerus, and of late yeres Carolus Magnus, all emperours of Rome, and men very audiouſe in all noble ſciences? Whan was there a better conſull then Tully, or a better ſenatour than Cato called Uticencis?

And



## THE PREFACE.

And to retourne home to oure owne countrey, and wherof we our selues maye be wytnesses, howe much hath it profyted vnto this realme, that it now hath a kynge our soueraigne lord king Henry the eyght exactly well lea- ued? Hath not he thereby onely sifted out detestable heresies, late myngled amonge the corne of his faythfull sub- iectes, and caused muche of the chaffe to be thowen in the fyre? Also hypo- crysye and vayne superstycion to be cleane banysht? Wherof I doubt not, but that there shall be or it bee longe, a more ample remembraunce, to his moste noble and immortall re- noume? This well consydered, lette men ceasse theyr sayde folyshe opini- on, and holde them contente with theyr owne ignoraunce, and for my parte, saye what they lyst, I wyl du- ryng my lyfe, bee in this wyse occu- pyed, in bestowynge my talenc, being satysfied with the contempnyng of such men as ye be, adourned with vertue, the moste preciousse garmente of verye nobilitie.

¶ But nowe to the intente that ye, ye  
ye list,

## THE PREFACE.

ye lyst, maye attayne inestimable profite by the reading of this lytle worke, I doe exhortte you, that readyng it distinctly and studiously, fyrste ye marke diligently, howe by the lasciuious and remysse education of Marius Heliogabalus, he grew to be a person moste monstrous in luyng: also howe not withstanding, that he not onely suffered, but also prouoked the people to lyue in a moste beastly licence: yet horryble sinne at the last became to all men fastydious and lothsome. Wherefore they slewe in moste miserable facyon hym that consumed infynite treasure in suppoptyng theylewdenesse. Then shall ye note diligently, howe muche it profyted to Alexander, who nexte dydde succede hym, that he hadde so wyse and vertuose a mother, and that he was brought vp amonge so wyse counsaylours. Also the maner of his mercenarylouse procedynges, in reforminge a publike weale, lefte vnto hym corrupted so shamefully, wherein was more difficultie, then to begynne it, where neuer was any. Marke also  
his

## THE PREFACE.

his most noble qualities, and howe they were tempered. More ouer the forme of his speakyng, and how as he grew in yeres, so wared it more mature and serpouse, sometyme abundant, otherwhyles more and compendious, as oportunitie serued. In his actes and dectes, what iustice and prudence were in them conteyned, what seueritie he vied, sparing neither him selfe, nor his friendes or ministers. Finally, all his lyfe is a wonderfull myrrour, if it be truely read and iustlie considered, whiche if ye doe often loke on, ye maye thereby attyre your selfe in suche faction, as men shall therefore haue you in more fauour and honour, than if ye had on you as riche a garment as the greates Turke hath any. Onely for my good wyll in translatyng it for you, I desire your gentill report and assistance agaynst them, whiche hate all chrynges, that please not theyr fantasies.



# THE TABLE.



What lignage the Emperour Alexander was, and the signes betokenynge his empire. Capitulo 1.  
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Capitulo. 2.

**C** Of the monstrous burning of the emperor Marcus Helioqabalus, whereby the citee of Rome was corrupted. Cap 3.

**C** How Alexander was made Emperour, and of his wonderfull temperance in refusing dyuers great honours. Cap 4.

**C** The example of vertue by Alexander in the fourme of his lpyng and dayely customs. Cap. 5.

**C** The letter of Gordian the senator to the emperor Alexander. Cap. 6.

**C** The answer of Alexander to the letters of Gordian. Cap. 7.

**C** The first practise of Alexander in reducing of the empire into his p̄stinate honour. Capitu. 8.

**C** In what forme the emperor Alexander had his counsaile, whiche alwaye attended vpon his person. Cap 9.

**C** The oracion of Alexander to the senate, Capitulo. 10.

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# THE TABLE.

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 Of the great prudence of Alexander used  
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 officers. Cap. 12.  
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 mioners and hypocrites, and howe much he  
 fauoured them that were vertuous.  
 Capitulo. 13.  
 A notable example given by Alexander  
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 The consultation concerninge the  
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 teigned them that were officers. and of  
 his liberalitie towards them that dyd well  
 in theyr duties. Cap. 16.  
 Howe curious the Emperour Alexander  
 was in assigning of iustices in his lawes,  
 and howe he used liberalitie of Marpnesse  
 towards them, accordyng to theyr me-  
 rits. Cap. 17.  
 Of the great care and diligence that Alex-  
 ander used about the publyke weale, and  
 of certayne newe officers ordeyned by him.  
 Capitulo. 18.  
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 daine newe officers in the weale publike,  
 and what belonged to theyr authorites.  
 Capitulo. 19.  
 The

## THE TABLE.

**T**he detestation that Alexander had into  
idolneſſe, and the vyces therof proceeding,  
and of dyuers pꝛouiſions that he made a-  
gainſt it. Cap. 20.

**O**f hatnes and places of exerciſes, made  
for the people of Rome, by the Emperour  
Alexander. Cap. 21.

**O**f the magnificence of the emperour A-  
lexander in ſumptuous and neceſſary wor-  
kes, and in what exerciſes he cauſed the  
nobilitie and gentlemen of Rome to be oc-  
cupied. Cap. 22.

**O**f hoſpitals and other pꝛouiſion made  
by Alexander for men that were decrepite  
or ſo dyſeaſed that they could not labour.  
Capitulo 23.

**I**n howe ſundry wyſe Alexander exerci-  
ſed his owne perſon, ſo that he was neuer  
unprofitably occupied. Cap. 24.

**H**owe the emperour Alexander, at the re-  
queſt of his mother Mamma, ſente for  
the moſt excellent clerke Origen, and of di-  
uers notable ſentences ſpoken by the ſame  
emperour, concerning the receyving of the  
chriſten fayth. Cap. 25.

**H**owe Mamma the emperours mothe-  
re hoped hym to be married, and what wiſe  
anſweres he made, and finally tooke to  
wiſe the daughter of a noble and ancient  
ſenatour. Cap. 26.

**O**f the ſeverities that Alexander uſed, as  
well towarde them that were proud, as  
to them



## THE TABLE.

- to them that were malaperte and dyd not  
thery dultt. Cap. 27.
- T**he oration of the Emperour Alexander  
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- T**he sentence that the emperour Alexan:  
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ration made to the people. Cap. 30.
- T**he sentence of Catellus. eodem.
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Rome. Cap. 31.
- W**hat loue and benenolence the emper  
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made to Alphenus, concerning the disa  
bling of Hertilius Rufus in his absence  
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made Pretour, fledde: And what the em  
perour sayde concernyng the matter,  
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Cens

## THE TABLE.

sent to Derrillus, and how vnwillingly  
he returned to Rome, and rescued the of-  
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**A** notable question moued by Julius  
Paulus vnto the Emperour Alexander,  
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to made. Capitu. 37.

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his libertines. And the oracion of Junius  
Moderatus, made in the senate. Cap. 38.

**T**he oracion of Junius Moderatus. co.  
The wonderfull prudence and equitie Mes-  
wed by Alexander the emperor, in the de-  
termination and sentence in the matter pro-  
cedyng. Capitulo. 39.

Thus endeth the table.





# Of what linage the

Emperour Alexander was, and  
the signes betokenynge  
his empire. Capi-  
tulo, i.



## Alexander

Alexander, sometime  
emperour of Rome,  
was bozne in the  
realme of Syria, in  
the citee of Arcene:

whose father had to name Marius,  
whiche was linially descended from  
the noble house of Metellus the Ro-  
maine, called Metellus the vertuous.  
Albeit, some writers suppose, that Se-  
uerus, before he was emperour, was  
amorous of a woman in Syria, and by  
the arte of Astronomie, finding in her  
natiuitee, that she shoulde be an emper-  
ours mother, he toke hit to wife, and  
had issue by her Marius the father of  
Alexander: but specially the progenie  
of this emperour is very uncertayne:

B iii

wher-

## IMAGE OF

wherefore in mine opinion his lyfe and  
actes be the moze to be honoured and  
incruailed at, consydering that being  
come of so vncertaine a lynage, and  
borne so farre from the ciety of Rome,  
and in so barbarouse a countrey, he  
coude so well gouerne the empire of  
Rome, whiche before his tyme was  
with pryde and other detestable vices  
extremely corrupted.

The mother of Alexander was cal-  
led Mamma, a woman of notable  
wysdome, as it shall hereafter ap-  
peare by the bringynge vpp of his  
sonne, and preseruyng of hym as wel  
from the vices, wherunto he was not  
onely prouoked, but also well nyghe  
constrayned by that moste beastly em-  
peroure Marcus Helioabalus, his  
cousin germaine and predecessour,  
not withstanding there was in that  
noble woman Mamma, a greatte  
spice of auarice in gatherynge and ke-  
pyng of treasure, which finally was  
the onely cause of the death bothe of  
hit and his sonne. The sayde Mam-  
ma was doughter of a woman cal-  
led Mela, whiche was borne in Iher-  
nicia,

## GOVERN. 2

Melia, in a towne called Emesa, and  
 was sister of Julia, wife of the emper-  
 our Seuerus. This Melia lyving,  
 Seuerus and Bassianus his sonne,  
 was continually abiding in the cour-  
 tes of those emperours: and after the  
 decease of Bassianus, she was com-  
 manded by Macrinus, than emper-  
 our, to departe to his countrey, albe-  
 it, the emperour graunted, that she  
 shoulde take with hir suche treasure,  
 as she hadde gathered, whiche was a  
 boundant. She had also two dought-  
 ers, the one called Semiamira, the  
 other Mammea. Semiamira had a  
 sonne named Bassianus, whiche was  
 of excellent beautie. And because he  
 was prelate in the temple of the son,  
 whom the Phenices dooe call Helio-  
 gabalus, he was semblablye called  
 by that name, hauing added thereto  
 the name of Marcus, which is in En-  
 glishe dyuers, forasmuche as some  
 men suppose, that he was conceived  
 of the seede of diuers men, his mother  
 Semiamira, beyng incontinent, and  
 as it were common to many men, du-  
 ringe the tyme that she abode in the  
B b
empe:



## IMAGE OF

emperours courte with her mother. Not withstandinge his sonne Helio-  
gabalus, by the craftie meanes of his  
graundame Mesa, was declared to  
be the sonne of the Emperour Bassi-  
anus, and by the fauour of the men of  
warre of the Romaynes, who than  
murmured, and hadde in hatred the  
pyde and crueltee of Macrinus (who  
was emperour after Bassianus) and  
his sonne Diadumenus, the sayd Ma-  
crinus Helioabalus was aduanced  
vnto the empyre, who with voluptu-  
ous and monstrous luyng, in suche  
wise corrupted the citee of Rome, that  
therin vnneth remained any peepe of  
vertue or honestie.

¶ Contrarywyle the other doughter  
of Mesa, called Gammea, of whom  
I intende nowe to wyte, induced ra-  
ther by nature and reason, than by the  
example of hir vicious mother, so  
nourished and trayned hir sayd sonne  
Alexander in vertue and learnynge,  
that partly by her education, but  
much more by his owne inclinacion  
naturall, he became one of the most  
perfecte princes that euer governed.

The

## G O V E R N. 3

**T**he education of Alexander, and  
howe he profited in vertue and  
doctrine. Capitulo. ii.

**T**ouching the education in child-  
hode of Alexander, his noble  
mother Maimea sayled not to  
proude with all diligence and cir-  
cumpection, that he mought be nour-  
ysht in vertue, and amonge honest  
company, and that fro the tyme that  
he issued out of his infancie, he were  
continually instructed in all maner of  
doctrine, bothe ciuile and marciall:  
so that afterward he of his owne cou-  
rage neuer suffered any daye to passe,  
without exercising him selfe eyther in  
letters, or in feates marciall.

**I**n the fyrst parte of childehod he  
had instructours, Valerius Cordius,  
Titus Veturius, and Aurelius Phyl-  
ippus: whiche afterwarde wrote his  
lyfe. Also in his countrey he was  
taught in Greeke by Nebo the gram-  
marian, & the Rhetorician Scrapio &  
Stilio the philosopher. At Rome  
he had teachers in the latyne tongue:  
first in grammar Scanurius a famous  
maister,

## IMAGE OF

maister, in Rhetorike he was instructed by Julius Frontinus, Vibius Paccinus, and Julianus Brauiannus. All be it, he dyd not so muche delyte in Latine eloquence, as in the Greeke, ne dyd therein profite so much but he loued all men that were learned, and feared theym also, lest they should wyte of hym any thyng sharply, or to his rebuke.

**C** Moreouer he sente ostentymes for those excellent personages, communicating with them thynges, whiche were dooen as well priuily as also openly, wyllyng theym, that al that they founde to be true, they shoulde put it in wytyng: suffering also them to reprove hym, when they seemed conuenient. Ostentymes he made verses in Greeke very pleasaunt, and was muche inclyned to musike. In the mathematicall sciences, that is to saye, Arithmetike, Geometrie, and Astronomie, he was very well learned. And therefore dyuers tymes by his commoundemente, the professours of those sciences purposed openly questions. In diuination he was so excellent,



lent, that he therein surmounted the  
diuinours of Bascoyne, Spayne, and  
Hungary. He painted also excellently.  
Also he did syng veray pleasauntly,  
but neuer in the presence of any other  
but onely his seruauntes and pages  
of his priue chaumbre. He wrote  
the lynes of good princes in verses  
eloquently, and sange them vnto the  
harpe and organs right sweetly: but  
that dyd he onely for recreatyng his  
spirites, whan they were troubled  
with vehemente studie: as it often  
tymes hapned by incomparable la-  
bour about the great affayres of the  
weale publike. He was of visage faire  
and well proportioned in body, large  
and goodly of personage, and therewith  
stronge and durable to susteine  
pynes, as he that knewe his owne  
strength, and in the preserving thereof  
was not founde negligent. Therto  
he was amiable, and towarde euery  
man genyll, and easy to be spoken  
vnto. Also there was in hym so much  
humanitee and beniuolence, that he  
woulde often tymes vspyte not onely  
the best and the second of his frendes  
and

## IMAGE OF

and seruantes beyng sicke, but also  
theym that were inferiours, and of  
base hauiour, despyng them to tell  
hym freely what they thought of him,  
whom he wolde attentifely here. And  
whan he hadde harde them throug-  
hly, than as the thyng, whiche was  
spoken of, dyd requyre, he wolde dili-  
gently amende and correcte it. And  
whan his mother woulde saye often-  
tymes to hym: Spye be to familiar  
and easy, and therefore ye shall cause  
the imperpall astare to be the lesse set  
by: he answered thus. But yet  
shall it be moze sure, and continue the  
longer.

**T**his was his disposicion, proce-  
dyng as well of the perfection of his  
moste gentill nature, as of the educa-  
tion of his good and circumspect mo-  
ther.

**N**ow wyll I procede to wyte of  
his excellent wysedome and vertue,  
experienced in his auctoritee imperi-  
all, wherein was declared the moste  
perfecte fourme of gouernaunce, that  
euer was practysed by any pryncce (as  
I suppose) whiche shall appeare the  
moze

## IMAGE OF

more manifestly, yf fynde I create  
somewhat of the most miserable state  
of the weale publike, and as it seemed  
incorrigible, at the tyme that he re-  
ceiued the gonernance therof, he than  
bernge but. xvi. yeres of age, whiche  
well consydered and kepte in remem-  
braunce, this hystory shalbe to the rea-  
ders thereof (excepte I be deceyued)  
both pleasaunt and mervailouse, and  
no lesse profitable to governours, that  
doe preferre theyr publyke weale be-  
fore wylfull appetite and particular  
pleasures.

**O**f the monstrous lyvinge of the  
emperour Marus Heliogabalus,  
wherby the citee of Rome was  
corrupted. Cap. iiii.

**M**acrinus the Emperour for his  
avarice and tyrannie beeyng a Tyranny &  
bandoned (or rather betrayed) avaryce.  
of his owne people, and slayne with  
his sonne Diadumenus (who in beau-  
tie and goodly nature excelled all  
men of his tyme) Marus Heliogaba-  
lus, of whom I late spake, was ad-  
vanced vnto the empire, by the whole  
consent



## IMAGE OF

consente of the Senate and people of Rome, who gaue hasty credence to all repoztes that were made to the honour and praise of theyr new princes. (Suche is the appetices of men, whiche bee meened anone with credulitee: for suche thynges as they desyre, they couerte to here of, and doe delite in newe rydynges, though it be falsely reported.) But as soone as Heliogabalus was come to Rome, out of the countrey of Syria, he immediately declared his beastly nature, by insurynge byces mooste abhominable, and aduancynge the fauourers and hauners of the same byces, and inforcing with all his studie and puiſaunce, to exterminate out of the citee of Rome all vertue and honestie, from whense a lytle before, all the world receiued doctrine and example of honour, concerning as well vertuous maners, as marciall prowesse.

¶ First in lechery this Heliogabalus was so insatiable, that not onely he exercised that vice openly, in common baines and bordell houses, with sundry women of diuers degrees and coun;

## GOVERN.

6

Countreys: but also he ordeigned a senate of common harlottes : amonge whom were dyuerse noble matrones and damfels of Rome, theyr husbands or parentes not being so hardy to let or rebuke them: vnto whom often tymes after he and his ribauldes had faciate with theym theyr lecherouse appetites, he made a solemne concion or propolicion, calling them his companions, & exhortinge them to let all theyr studie and witte to induce all other women vnto the fourme of theyr liuynge: declaring expressely, that he aboue all other thynges most despyred, that all men and women of the citee of Rome should be semblably disposed as he was.

**E** I holde it not conueniente to bee wyrtten in any bulgare tounge, howe he transformed and abused his propre kynde, in such wise, as I suppose the moste vicious man now liuing wold be ashamed, not onely to beholde it, but also to here it, and that did he not onely secretly or in his house, but also openly, all men that wolde, beholding and lokynge on hym. I omitte  
L
the

## IMAGE OF

the residue, whiche in mine opinion ought neuer to haue been wytten for abomination therof, muche more neuer to haue been of any man known. He also promoted to the greatest dignities of the publyke weale, common lawdes, notable rybouldes, solicitours and furtherers of dishonest appetites, often tymes cokes and deuilers of lecherours confections and sauces: Semblable by suche persones he solde dignities, auctorities, and offices in the publyke weale. He also elected into the Senate, and to the roumes of greater Capitaynes, Dukes, and gouernours of countreys most vyle personages, not hauing regarde to any age, gentilnes of bloud, merite, possessions or substance. He had of his priue counsaile in all his actes, two Carrers, the one named Protogenes, and the other Cordius. His gluttonie was almoste equall to his lechery: in so muche as he therein banquished Vitellius, of whom it is wytten, that at one supper he was serued with seuen thousande fyshes, and fyue thousande foules,

Whan



## GOVERN.

7

**¶** When Heliogabalus sojourned  
nygh to the sea, he wolde neuer be ser-  
ued with sea fysh: but being in plac-  
es farre distant from the sea, he cau-  
sed al his honsholde to be serued with  
most delicate sea fysh.

**¶** It abhorreth me to expresse his  
beastly lyving, but to the intent that  
thertellent vertues of his most noble  
successour shalbe more apparant and  
commendable (like as all thyng that  
is vile or course, doth set forth more  
pleasantly that thyng which is pre-  
cious and fine) it is requisite that I  
describe this monster in some part as  
he was. All be it I doe not tel every  
thyng that I haue redde of hym, as  
well for that it shal be to good men  
odious to here, as also it moughte  
happen to incende the wanton and  
lewde courages of some readers, in-  
clined to semblable qualitees, whiche  
(god knoweth) is much contrary vnto  
to my purpose.

**¶** But to retourne to this monstreu-  
ous Emperour, whiche consumed  
daies and nightes in lechery and glo-  
ry, haung some day all his com-  
pany

¶ ii

## IMAGE OF

pany serued with the braines of Ostriches, and a strange foule called Phénocopteri: an other day with the rosges of Poppingales, Rhythingales, and other sweete singyng birdes, oftentimes with the milkes of mosse delicate fishes. I omitte other lighte fantasies, wherof I haue wyrtten in my boke called the Gouvernor, wher I treatte of sobrietee.

¶ Finally it is remembred, that he was neuer two daies together serued with one meate, nor ware twise one garmente, nor companied twise with one woman, except his wife, as often as he remoued in progresse, there followed hym .vi. C. chariotes laded onely with bandes, common harlottes, and ribauldes.

This company had he in stede of counsailours, and so delited in this forme of living, that he saied oftentimes, that if he had a sonne, he wolde ordeine for him maisters, that shoulde compell him to liue in semblable faction.

¶ To these monstrous vices he added crueltie, in puttyng to death diuerse noble senators. Also vsing the counsaille

sayle of witches and inchauntes, he  
 made his sacrifice with younge chil-  
 dren: And violently rauyng from  
 the noble men and women of Italy,  
 theyr yonge infantes, he caused in his  
 presence theyr bodyes to be opened,  
 they liuyng, and moſte cruelly ſear-  
 ched in theyr tender bowelles for his  
 moſte damnable deſtenie. He had in  
 ſpeciall fauour one named Zoticus,  
 who for familiaritie vſed betweene  
 theym, was taken of all the chiefe of-  
 ficers for the emperours hulbande.  
 This Zoticus vnder the colour of the  
 ſaied familiaritee, ſolde all the ſay-  
 ynges and doynges of the emperour,  
 intendyng to accumulate abundance  
 of richesse, by promysyng fayre to  
 many men, but finally deceuyng all  
 men, for comyng out of the emperours  
 priuie chaumbre, after that he had  
 herde euery man ſpeake, that ſued to  
 hym, to ſome he woulde ſaye: Thus  
 ſaied I to the Emperour of you. Vnto  
 an other. Of you I hearde the emper-  
 our ſaye thus to daye. To diuerſe he  
 woulde ſaye, your matter or re-  
 queſte ſhall come thus to paſſe. As



## IMAGE OF

is the facion of suche maner of persones, which beyng from a base condition admitted of princes into ouermuche familiaritee, they sell the fame and reuoume of theyr maisters.

**[**Such as I haue reherſed were the counſailours of Heliogabalus, for all wiſe and vertuous men he deadly hated. Wherefore he baniſhed the noble man Sabinus, vnto whom Ulpianus the great lawier wrote his booke. And ſemblably he put out of the citie the ſayde Ulpian, onely becauſe he was named a good man: and cauſed Siluius the noble orator, whom he had made maſter to Alexander, to be put to death. And he ordeined a tumbler to be great maſter of his houſeholde, a carter named Gordius he made capitayne of his garde. An other tumbler he made chiefe capitaine of an army. The greateſt roumes and affaires of the empyre, he committed to minſters, players of enterludes and diſcordes. His bondemen and moſt vile ſeruauntes, as they excelled in abhominacion, ſo preferred he them to the gouernaunce of realmes

realmes and prouinces.

¶ Also of his rabell of brothelles, to some he gaue the rule and gouernance of the youth of the citee: some he made rulers of the Senate, to other he gaue preeminence and soueraintee ouer all theym that were gentilmen, finally he intended to destroy all vertue, and to constreigne all men to lyue beastly as he dyd. And for that cause he commaunded, that the noble Alexander his aunces sonne, shoulde be slayne, either violently, or by some popson: forasmuche as he perceyued hym to decline from his appetite: but Alexander was alway preserued by the prouidence of God, who inclyned the mindes of the senate & people to his preseruacion. For nothyng auayleth the malice of tyrannes against innocentes & good men, where almighty God wyll not haue theym to peryshe. Wherefore this monstrous emperour, desirynge the destruction of Alexander, procured his owne death, agreeable with his abhominable liuyng: for his owne seruauntes and souldiours, whiche were prepared for the garde

C iiii

of his

## IMAGE OF

of his persone, dreading lest the people makynge insurrection, that they shoulde bee parteners of his mischievous ende, beyng also tediousse of his abhominacions, conspired to delyuer the common weale of hym. And sodeinly apprehended his adherentes and familiars, and with sundrie tourmentes dyd put theym to death. Finally pursuyng Helio gabolus to a priuy or draught, wherunto he fled, there they slewe hym, and his mother Semiamira, and afterwarde his horrible carayue beyng drawn thoroughout the citee with hookes, was of all the people defiled with ordure, and other mattier foule and stinking, and at the laste was brought with all kyndes of reproche to the common draughtes of the citee, wherinto they woulde haue throwen hym, but for as muche as the hole of the draught coulde not receaue hym, they tyed hym to a stone of great weight, and threwe him into the ryuer of Tyber, to the entent that he shoulde neuer be buried.

**T**his was the worthy and conuenient



nient ende of this most beastly and vncleane monster, who with the emperours Nero, Caligula, Domitian, & Commodus, his predecessors, was a notable & commedious example to all princes succeeding, to declare, that notwithstanding their maiestie and puissance, they for their vices abhominable were first hated, & afterwarde slayne, and dishonoured by theyr propre subiectes.

And in this historie it is to bee specially noted, that notwithstanding that he not onely permitted, but also willed his subiectes to lyue in a licence, and without correction, for sin: moreouer he vnto theym such the liberalitee, that he fedde theym with most delicate and exquisite meates, gaue vnto theym money in haboundance, and also to them, which dined or supped with him, he gaue all the bestell and plate, were it of golde or siluer, wherewith he was serued, and made many other distributions to the whole people wonderfull sum: tuouse: yet the Romaynes notwithstanding, abhorring in him their

## IMAGE OF

owne propre vices, or rather beyng  
therewith faciate or tedious, they fi-  
nally slew hym as befoze is witten,  
after that he had reigned sixe yeeres,  
and beyng than but in the. xxi. yere  
of his age,

**C** Howe Alexander was made emper-  
our, and of his wonderfull tem-  
perance in refusing dyuerse  
great honours. Capi. 4.

**I**mmediately after the deeth  
of Heliogabalus, the se-  
nate and people of Rome  
being surprised with in-  
credible ioye, vled all di-  
ligence and speede, that Aurelius Ale-  
xander, whom they hadde defended  
from deathe, mought forthwith as  
verie emperour receiue all auctoritee  
and honour, that pertained to the im-  
periall maiestee. Wherefoze they con-  
tended amonge theym selues, whiche  
of theym mought applie to him moste  
titles and names of dignitee. Where-  
foze he was the fyrst that receiued at  
one tyme all ornamentes and tokens  
of honour, adding therto the name of  
Cesar

Cesar, whiche a fewe yeres before he had receined, but muche rather his honeste lyfe and vertuose maners, wherby he obtained suche fauour of all men, that when Heliogabalus would haue slaine hym, he coulde not bringe it to passe, the men of armes resistynge, and the senate obstinately refusynge: but all those were but trifles in regarde that he approued himselfe worthy, whom the senate ought to saue harmeleste, whom the men of warre desyzed to be in sauegarde, and generally by the sentence and opinion of all good men, was electe to be emperour, beyng than but of the age of xvi. yeeres. Notwithstanding he was than of such a wonderfull sobernesse, that where the senate wolde haue geuen to him the surname of Antonine (whiche name for the incomparable vertues that were in Antoninus Pius, and Antoninus the philosopher late emperours, was vsurped of other emperours, folowynge) for a principall title of honour, he humbly refused it: semblable dyd he the name of great Alexander, sayinge  
openly



## IMAGE OF

openly vnto the senate: I beseeche you honourable fathers, doe not call me vnto this necessitee, that I should bee compelled to satisfie you in the merites of so highe a name as Antonine is. For if ye seeke for goodnesse in a prince, who was better or more vertuose then Antoninus Pius? If ye seeke learnynge, who was more wise or cunnynge then Marcus Antoninus? And who was more harmelesse then Verus Antoninus? Noble fathers, these hyghe names of honour be burdenous and to greuous for my yowth to susteygne. For who wyl gladly heare a dumme man called Tully, an idiote Varro, a tyranne Metellus? And as touchynge the name of great Alexander, it is much more incongruente, consideringe that with better reason I might haue taken the name of Antonine, induced by colour eyther of affinitee, or elles of equall estate in the imperiall maiestee: but the name of great Alexander, wherfore shoulde I haue it? What greater thynges haue I yet dooen to deserue that name

name, whiche Alexander the Greeke after great enterprises, Pompey the Romaine after many triumphes, had geuen vnto theym? Cease therefore honourable fathers, to conferre to me honoures aboue my merites, and sens ye wyll haue me called Great, suffer me to be one of you, who in very deede bee great in honour and perfite magnificence.

**T**his moderate and sobre answer of so younge a prince, inflamed immediately the hertes of the Senate and people, muche moze to honour hym, then if he had receiued those straunge names: and from that tyme he had the renoume of constance and grauttee.

**M**oreouer for his great Austeritee againe the presumption and lyghtnes of his souldiours and seruauntes, he was named of theym *Seuerus*, whiche betokeneth constant or sharpe in punishment. Whiche name in his tyme gatte hym muche reuerence, and afterwarde great fame and renoume amonge his successors. Finally this most towardly prince with incre-

dible

## IMAGE OF

Dyble ioye was triumphantly conueighed by all the Senate and people, to the imperiall palaice: where beyng left, he prepared hym selfe to the reformation of the whole empire, then beyng in ruine.

**T**he example of vertue geuen by Alexander in the fourme of his lyuyng and daly customes.

Capitulo. v.

**I**mmediately after that Alexander, by the consent of the senate & people, was stablished in the imperiall auctoritee, and for his excellent goodnesse was most ardently beloued of the multitude, also the remembraunce of Helioabalus and his adherentes, for theyr detestable vyces beyng euery where hated, and with detestation abhorred: This noble yonge emperour, takyng than oportunitie, to restore the publyke weale to hir pristinate fourme, with the maiestie imperiall, late violated, and well nygh perished, through the negligence of the sayd monster: by the counsaile of his wyse and vertuouse mother



mother Gammea, fyrste purged his owne palaice, ercludynge out of his courte and all offices, dishonest and infamed personages, and by no meanes wolde suffer to bee in his house: holde any other, than by all menne shoulde be thought necessarie. Moreover he openly protested, makynge another, that he would neuer haue a superfluous nombie of seruauntes, to the entent that he would not greene the publyke weale with his proupyson, saying: The emperour is a shrewd pupil, that fedeth with the bowels of his comys, me which be not necessary nor yet profitable to the weale publike. ¶ Howe much he hated uncleannesse of liuyng, he well declared, when he commaunded that no woman infamed shoulde salute or visite his wife or his mother. All his lyfe was a perfect example of temperaunce. His apparayle was wonderfull cleane, but not so sumptuous, and after some mens opinion, more meaner then to his estate apperteined. Semblable moderacion the emperesse his wyfe observed, Finally durynge his tyme he

ylsd

## 'IMAGE OF

blesed diligente correction of his owne manners: wherfore all noble men assaied to folowe hym. And all honourable women ensued the empresses example.

¶ Moreover this emperour was of suche an incomparable mansuetude, that he commaunded, that no man shoulde wyte vnto hym in any other fourme, then shoulde bee witten to a priuate person, reseruyng the name of emperour. And also prohibited, that no man shoulde call hym lord, but salute hym as one of the senators, and in this fourme, *Be gladde Alexander.*

*Our Alex:  
ander.*

And if a man had bled in gesture or speache any maner of flattery, he was either put backe, if the place so requi- red, or els with a great laughter was mocked by them which were present.

¶ And for as muche as he would not be saluted or visited but of them which were honeste, and of good fame, he decreed, that no man shoulde enter into his palaise, but onely suche as knewe them selues vncorrupted with notable vyces. And caused to be proclaimed, that no persone, knowyng  
hym

# GOVERN.

14

hym selfe to be a thefe or extorcioner,  
shoulde be so hardy to salute the em-  
perour, vpon payne of lesyng his life.  
He had this sentence oftentimes in  
his mouth: Theues onely complayne  
of pouertee, therby couetyng to hyde  
theyr mischenouse lyuynge.

¶ Finally no daye passed, wherein he  
dyd not some thyng charitably, gen-  
tily, or honorably, but those thinges  
he dyd in suche wyse, as therein he nei-  
ther consumed ne wasted the common  
treasure.

¶ He procured seldome any condem-  
nations, but those that were doen he  
neuer pardoned. The tributes or fee  
fermes of cittees, he oftentimes gaue  
to the repayying and buyldyng of the  
same cittees.

¶ Moreover to dyuers poore men, of  
whose vertue or wisdom he had per-  
fecte knowlege, he lent of his trea-  
sure to purchase landes, receiuyng a  
gayne his owne money, onely of the  
rentes of the same landes, and let the  
sayde persons haue the possession and  
all other profytes.

¶ He woulde not suffre any of his  
D courts



## IMAGE OF

courte to weare any garmente myxt  
with golde, or other wyse precious or  
costly: nor he him selfe delpted in rich  
apparayle, saying: Gouvernaunce was  
in vertue, and not in beautie or costly appa-  
rayle.

**A**t his table he vsed no golde bue  
pure beryll and chrystall, and other  
lyke mattier to drynke in: he exceded  
not. 200. li. weight of siluer vessel in  
all his houtholde.

**P**recious stones that were geuen  
to hym, he caused to be solde esteeming  
it to be a womanly appetite to haue  
suche iewelles, which he mought nei-  
ther geue to his souldiours, ne in har-  
uyng theym fynde any profite. Wher-  
fore on a tyme whan an ambassadour  
had geuen to the emperesse two orient  
perles of wonderfull greatnesse, he  
commaunded theim to be solde: And  
whan no man coulde be founde that  
woulde geue as muche as the pryce  
was esteemed, least any euyl example  
shoulde procede of the emperesse, yf she  
shoulde be seene to weare that thyng,  
whiche no man coulde bie, he caused  
theim to be hanged at the eares of the  
image

image of Venus : therby declaryng,  
that suche thynges eyther for the in-  
estimable price was metter for goddes  
than for men : or for the vnprofitable  
beautie therof, serued onely for per-  
sons of wanton appetites, whercof  
Venus was goddesse and patronesse.  
¶ No lesse temperaunce vled he in  
meates and drynkes : neuer exceeding  
foure sundry kindes of fleshe and fishe  
at one meale, and those with a great  
moderation and reason. He dranke  
wyne nor scarcely, nor to muche, but  
competently.

¶ In feastes and banketting he neuer  
wolde haue any wanton pastime. His  
pleasure was to beholde byrdes figh-  
tyng together. And therfore he had  
in his gardeyne, places, where birdes  
of sundry kyndes were inclosed and  
kepte, wherin he toke singular pleas-  
ure. Notwithstandynge to the in-  
tente that he woulde in nothyng ag-  
gricue the market in feedynge theym  
with corne, he had seruauntes that  
prouyded for them egges of wyldes  
foule and culuers.

¶ In house recreation he was mer-  
D u uailous

## IMAGE OF

naillous mercy and pleasaunte, amparable in communicacion, at the table so genyill, that euery man mought demaunde of hym what he woulde.

And to the intent that he woulde be the moze circumspecte, he ordeygned the wyse man Alplane, one of the greatestt interpreters of the lawe ciuill, to be in the stede of his tutour, his mother repugnynge thereat at the first, but after she gaue hym therfore great praises.

**W**han he dined or supped abrode, he had euer with hym Alplane, or other well learned men, to the intent he wolde than heare histories cōteynynge learnynge, wherwith he sayde, that he was both recreate and also fedde. If he satte prauely, he had a booke by him and read therein oftentymes, but that was in Breke for the moze parre. In open feastes he vsed the same simplicitie that he dyd in his palaice.

**H**e so much had flattery in hatred, that he woulde not heare orators or poetes speake any thyng to his praise callynge it foolyshe: but he hearde gladly oracions, perswadyng to vertue



ture, and also the actes of other good princes, as wel Romans as Grekes, specially the praise of Alexander the great which conquered the moze part of the worlde.

¶ He went ofrentymes openly to the common scooles to here Rhetoricians and poetes, Grekes and Latines. He hearde also oratours reciting causes, whiche they had prosecuted either befoze hym, or befoze the great officers.

¶ Fynally he so muche esteemed and fauoured learnyng, that he ordeyned great salaries to be gyuen to Rhetoricians, teachers of grammer, Physicians, Astronomers, Geometricians, Musiciens, deuilers of building and ingyns: And prouyded for them places to reade in, and scholars also, geuyng to pooze and honest mennes children that harde them, theyr commons free, with like charitee he retained aduocates in pooze mens causes. And suche lawaiers as freely dyd helpe pooze men with theyr counsaile and labour, he rewarded with cozne and wine to maintein theyr household.

## IMAGE OF

**H**e also yercely perused his lawes,  
and refourmed theym accordyng as  
occasion chaunced or happened: and  
he hym selfe diligently and rigorous-  
ly executed theim in his owne person  
and seruantes. And therewith was  
of suche gentilnesse, that he woulde  
offer to geue place to the auncient Se-  
natours that came vnto hym. And  
would suffer no man of honestie, that  
pleased to speake with hym, to be re-  
pelled. He neuer dyd wronge to any  
person. Semblable of wronges he  
was a belement and sharpe persecur-  
tour, sauing that in his owne wronge  
he was muche moze tractable than  
in a straungers. If he lay not with  
his wyfe, he was in the moynynge be-  
tyme in his priue clolet, where were  
sette the image of Christe. Also the  
pictures of Abraham, Socrates, A-  
pollonius, and other auncient and  
vertuose men, where by the space of  
halfe an houre, he remayned in pray-  
ers. And for this deuocion and mir-  
aculouse example of liuynge, he was  
had of all men in wonderfull reue-  
rence. All be it, his temperate and  
soble

## GOVERN.

17  
To be lyving, beyng thought of some men not agreable nor congruent to his maiestie, he was exhorted to aduance his estate, bothe in princely porte, & more sumptuous maner of lyving, leauing his affabilitie & straighe obseruacion of his lawes, as it shal appeare by letters folowynge, mutually writte betwene him & his counsaillers.

[The letter of Gordiane the Senatour to the Emperour Alexander. Capitulo, vi.]

**T**here was in the citie of Rome an honourable Senatoure named Gordiane, who had some tyme been consull (whiche was the hyghest dignitee next to theemperour) and was the rycheest man of all the citie, haupng the greattest possessions in the countreys adioynynge, that any man had, the emperour onely excepte, and also was a man of excellent learnynge and wysedome: Wherefore during the lyfe of Helioabalus, this Gordiane, hauing his monstrous lyfe in abhominacion, and perceiuing  
D iiii the



## IMAGE OF

the maiestee of the empyre to decaye  
by his negligent and dissolute liuynge,  
and that ther was no hope of reme-  
die, obseruyng the tyme, he by lytle  
and lytle withdrew hym into suche  
places, as he had of his owne, farre  
from the citee, feignynge hym selfe to  
bee greued with suche diseases as  
dyd debilitate his wyttes, and ther-  
fore requyred to be farre from resorte  
of companie and muche noyse, whic-  
he beyng in the citee, he mought not  
eschewe. This excuse the emper-  
our Heliogabalus hearde gladder  
lye, as he that feared and also hated  
the grauitee and auctoritee of Goz-  
diane, and therfore licenced him to  
departe and remayne in the countrey,  
as long as it lyked hym, thinkynge  
by his absence to be moore at lybertie  
and to lyue moze wantonly.

**A** So with the emperours fauour, or  
rather follie, Gozdiane quietly and  
also pleasauntly passed the tyme, that  
Heliogabalus lyued. And when he  
hearde of the deathe of that monster,  
he wolde not returne to the citee, but  
sent his consent of election to the se-  
nate

nate, after he knewe that by assent of the people, Alexander was named emperour. And when he was required of the senate to come personally, he aggravated his impediment, alleging sicknesse, although in dede, neither in body nor witte he was in any part diseased: but knowyng Alexander to be veray ponge, and also counselen Germanyne to Helioabalus, he dyad in hym bothe the one and the other, fearyng lest nature shoulde prevaile agaynst education, when he shoulde come to an absolute libertee, and be out of the state of all correction. But soone after that Alexander was stablished in the empyre, and that his vertues were commended and published, Gordiane reioysyng therat, toke therof maruailous comforte.

All be it, for his native grauitie and stately courage, he lyked not the affabilitie and familiaritee that Alexander bled, now beyng the chiefe prince and soueraigne gouernour of all the worlde: wherfore or he would make any accesse to his presence, he would proue his wisdom and vertue in ad-

D v

mitting

## IMAGE OF

mittyng his counsailes, wherfoze he wrote in this wyse vnto hym.

**N**oble and excellent prince, the fame of your aduancement vnto the gouernaunce of the empyre, was to me as it is to all the worlde, most ioyfull tydynges, considering the lamentable astate of our publike weale, with the certeyne hope that all men haue in you, beyng measured with your vertues incomparable, whiche dayly more and more ye dooe manifest by your moste honourable example in liuing, declared to al that dooe beholde, not onely your royall persone, but also your seruauntes and familiar companions. Amonge whiche vertues, your affabilitie and gentilnesse haue acquired no small prayse amonge the people, as commonly they delite in swete countenance, and mildnesse of gouernours, wherin they trust to fynde more libertie. But most noble prince, although for these qualities, ye deserue praise & loue of your subiectes, yet in the imperiall maiestie requyrez to be a more straunge countenance, and a selde and difficulte accesse



# GOVERN 19

accesse vnto your person, considering  
 that by the familiaritee of hym that  
 is a maister of gouernour, as well of  
 vyll men as good, doe receiue boldnesse  
 to speake, and they which be of  
 vyll, doe busily assaulte hym, eyther  
 with flattery, or with detracting of  
 other: wherby princes, although they  
 be of good natures, and well brought  
 vp by theyr parentes, yet be they of-  
 tentymes transfourmed into mon-  
 sters, that is to saye, into beaustly ly-  
 uers or rauenous tyrannes. I omitte  
 contempte, whiche induced by fa-  
 miliaritee, byngeth the subiecte to familiaritee  
 disobedience. Let it not displease te in a  
 you, that I seme to haue in your high prince.  
 nesse any suspicion. Verily as a man  
 that hath a fayre and honeste wyfe,  
 wherby he is moued to loue hir intire-  
 ly, wolde not haue hir gladly stande  
 in the market place, and admyt with-  
 out discrepance euery man equally,  
 and with lyke pleasaunte counte-  
 nance, suffer euery man to speake  
 to hyr what he lysteth, although he  
 knoweth hir to be vertuous and con-  
 stant: as well for the naturall shames  
fastidie

## IMAGE OF

fastnesse that oughte to be in a woman, may not admitte suche open resort and communicacion, as also the eares that be often assaured, can not euer escape, but be they neuer so well fortified with wysedome, at the last lyke a castell wall, they beinge sore shaken with many sweete wordes and longe enteruieu, they yeld at the laste, yll custome expellynge shamefastnesse, and fynally all wysedome beyng reiectred, and nothyng set by. Semblably moste excellent prince, your persone is to the senate as deare as the wyfe to her husbände, and for your fayre vertues we of good reason ought to be so ialouse ouer you, that willyngly we shoulde not behold you fall into any custome, whiche mought allure you into any yll disposition, remembryng the late calamitie, that the citee and empyre were brought vnto by your moste monstrous predecessour Marius Heliogabalus. Wherfore lyke as now we be to hym most contrarious in luyng, so we desyre to haue you resist all occasion, that mought geue neuer so little a path

pathe for flatterers, detractours, and promoters of vice, to entre into your counsaile or fauour. Who can aduant him selfe to be well assured from this nette of hipocrisie, which hath (as I mought say) sundry and diuers meshes of flatterpnges, whiche vnneth any man can escape, that wyll tarie vntyll the nette be cast ouer hym?

The remedie then is either with Ma-  
iestee to repel it, or to cutte it a sundre  
with sharpe rebukes: and that in the  
presence of other: or so greuously to  
persecute alwaie those hypocrites, I  
dooe meane flatterers, with open pu-  
nishment, that all men maye know  
and abhorre theym. And that other  
thereto by nature inclyned, may be e-  
uer afearde of lyke experiment. But  
the fyrst way is most sure vndoubted-  
ly. For rebuke and punishment com-  
meth after the danger, but maiestee  
procedeth: & therfore more profiteth.  
For suche persones rebuked or puni-  
shed, perchance excusynge theim selfe  
that they doe it by to ardent affection  
and desyre to please, or by theyr youth  
& lacke of experience, or recognisynge  
theyr

Maieſtee.



## IMAGE OF

theyr follie, and promysynge amende-  
ment, may happen chylones to crepe  
into favour, and than they wooke  
their nette so finely, that it can not so  
soone bee perceiued, and pitcheth it  
more conetly, applyng it aptely to  
theyr maisters condicions, so that it  
shall be almost impossible for hym to  
escape, but that in one meisse or o-  
ther he shall be tangled. Contrary-  
wyse by Maiessee (that is to say, state-  
ly countenance and difficult accesse)  
forgned with wysedome, impresseth  
suche reuerence, that men not onely  
doe feare to approche vnto theyr so-  
ueraygne lord, vnto they be called,  
but also to speake any thyng, wherby  
they being discovered, shuld lose their  
credence, hoppyng neuer againe to re-  
couer it, consideryng, that by maie-  
see and wysedome, the accesse to the  
prince is made impenetrable, sens to  
them that neuer offeded he is so hard  
and diffuse to be spoken vnto. Thus  
to your maiessee haue I shewed myne  
opinion, wherfore if by my counsaile  
ye dooe leaue your affabilitie, and fa-  
miliare accesse, and imbrace graue  
and

see and princelie astate, ye shall bee  
saue from the perils that I haue re-  
membred, and haue equall honour  
with your predecessors, whiche wold  
not be seen of the people but seldome,  
and oftentimes with a courteyne be-  
fore theyr bylage, sptying in theyr  
place of astate, whiche they toke of  
the Persians: for thynges seldome  
seene be most esteemed: and they that  
be frequent and often in eye, be little  
regarded, whiche as ye increase in  
age. and expercience, ye shall fynde  
true, and to be wyrtten of a faithfull  
counsailour, that despyeth the in-  
crease of your vertue, with the publike  
weale of our most noble citee & empyre

**T**he aunswere of Alexander to  
the letters of Gordiane.  
Capitulo. vii.

**V**When the emperour Alexander  
had receiued and read the sayd  
letters of the senator Gordiane  
he seemed to reioyce moze therat, than  
at all the honours and tytes that  
were geuen hym by the Senate and  
people

## IMAGE OF

people, saying with a lowde voice: yet there remaineth some hope in the publyke weale, that it shall not bitterly perishe, sens we haue Gordiane the senatour left to assiste vs. And therewith he called for his tables, and immediately made to hym aunswere, as hereafter ensucth.

**G**ordiane honorable father, how muche better had the Senate and people of Rome prouyded for their publike weale, if they had taken you to be theyr emperour, hauing regarde to your auncientee and excellent wysedome, where, in me they fynde nothyng but frayle youth, and lacke of experience. For onely detestation of the negligence of my predecessor, with the desire that I haue to increase vertue, hath sowed in me suche oppynion amonge the Senate and people, that not remembryng you (perchaunce for lacke of your presence) they haue enabled me to this estate above my merites. Truly no man doubterly, but that ye being borne in the citie of a ryght auncient and noble house of the Romaines, as of  
your



your fathers syde, issuing from the honorable senators called Gracchus and by your mother descended from Traiane the emperour, mought with that grautie and sternesse, whiche is in you, as it were by nature ingenerate, and amonge the people of Rome, aboue forty yere in the principall dignities experienced, moste honorable haue maintained the imperiall maiestee. Where I beyng borne a straunger, and my bludde (althoughe it proceeded of the noble hous of Metellus) beyng to the more parte of the Senate and people unknown, am constrained to auale that maiestee, that in you shulde be commendable: and in the steede of your grautie and sarnesse, to vse towarde all men affabilitie, and suche forme of gentilnesse, whiche ye seeme in me rather to prohibite than to dispraise, lest that my noultie shulde caste to be pleasant vnto the people, if by my sharpnesse or straunge countenaunce I shuld seme to deceiue them in their opinion. Remember you not, that the haule countenance and

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the

## IMAGE OF

the difficulte accessse, whiche was in Tarquine the last kyng of Romains, acqwyred to hym that odyouse surname to be called Tarquine the proud and although that he were bothe valyaunt in warres, and in garnysing the citie verie industriouse, yet whan occasion and oportunitie happened of rebellion, the people being brought into furie, declared than howe muche moze they hated then feared hym, ne had hym for his noble actes in any estimation or reuerence. Moreouer whan they had expelled hym out of the citie, to the entent they mought haue moze familiar accessse vnto their gouernours, and fynde in theim moze affabilitie, from thensefoorth vnto the tyme of Caius Cesar, they ycerely elected newe gouernours, calling them Consules, as it were counsaillours: supposyng that in theyr tyme of auctoritee, the remembraunce that they shoulde be private persones the nexte yere folowyng, shoulde cause them to vse the people the moze familiarly and also gentilly. And whan those officers, beeyng of longe tyme

ty me chosen of the nobilitie onely,  
 became in proceſſe of tyme haute  
 mynded and ſterne towards the com  
 munaltee, the people with longe ſe  
 dition compelled the ſenaie to ioygne  
 at the laſt, with a noble man in that  
 office, one of theyr companye. Iu  
 lius Ceſar with affabilitie, mercie,  
 and gentylneſſe became ſo puiſſant,  
 that neyther the Senates auctoritee,  
 nor the promeſſe incomparable of the  
 great Pompei, nor yet the inerpuz  
 gnable armies prepared againſt hym,  
 had power to reſyſt hym. Yet ſhort  
 ly after that he had decreed, that no  
 man ſhould approache hym, and be  
 came in his countenaunce and woordes  
 more ſtately, he was ſlayne in the  
 myddell of the ciue by ſyfte Senas  
 tours onely.

**T**he great Alexander beyng ſo fa  
 miliar and gentyll amonge his peo  
 ple, that he did not onely viſite home  
 ly theyr pauplions and halis, minis  
 ſtryng to them all thyng that they  
 lacked, but alſo ſuffered them to come  
 to hym boldly, and often tymes to  
 ſpeke to him rudely: he dyed the with



## IMAGE OF

hym into the furthest partes of the worlde, into most baraine and daungerous countreys: and by most gentle persuations bainequitted nature, whiche abhorred the tedious iourneys, the trauailes incollerable, the venemouse synggyng of serpentes, the hunger and thyrst that sundry tymes happened, and other incommodities and incredible labours, whiche he moughte not withdraue theym from folowyng theyr prince, so muche his most amiable gentlenesse subdued theyr appetites. But after that he, folowyng the kinges of Persia (whom yf seme to prayse in your letters) vled a more pompeuse estate then he was accustomed, and neyther woulde beholde or speake to his people familiarly, nor suffre them to speake to hym freely, howe soone than chaunged they theyr copie: and as his amabilitie decayed, and pryde increased: so theyr louyng affection towards hym, in lykewyse relented: whiche constrained hym to omitt the parte of his enterpryse, and retourne vnto Babylon, wher  
amongst

amonge his friendes at a banquet, he was destroyed with poyson.

**T**he incomparable humanitee and gentilnesse of noble Germanicus, (who shoulde haue succeeded Tiberius in the empyre, if the treason of his so hadde not frustrate the truste of the people) caused his sonne Caius, beyng yet in his cradell, to be so fauoured throughtout the army, that they hauyng hym, with his mother Agrippina amonge them, toke no lesse care for hym, then if he had been propre sonne to eueryche of them: which loue in suche wyse remayned, that immediately nexte after Tyberius, they made hym emperour. Who in the begynnyng of his reigne, vsyng the humanitee of his noble father, gouerned the empyre quyetely, as he that was miruailously beloued of the people. But whan to aduaunce his maiestee, he became straunge, countreyfaytyng his bysage in a glasse into a terrible grauitee, coueryng to seme fearefull vnto the people, & whan he was openly scene, which was but selddome, he sitting in apparel al of gold,

## I M A G E   O F

laded with iewelless, compelled the se-  
nate and people to worship hym as  
god, how soone after was his stateli-  
nesse tourned into mockery, and he be-  
yng of all men abandoned, was lyke  
an horrible monster Rayne and draw-  
en through the citee?

**C** Consider the affabilitie and gen-  
tilnesse of the noble Augustus, Titus  
the sonne of Vespasian, Nerua, Tra-  
ian, Antonine called Pius, and Mar-  
cus Aurelius, whom no man can de-  
rogate of any parte of honour and  
wisdom, and se where ye may ther-  
with compare any sturdy graunter,  
or haulte and straunge countenance  
of any other emperour or prynce.

**Feare.  
Loue.**

Lettes Gordiane honourable father,  
he much erreth (in mine opinion) that  
preferreth feare before loue, without  
the which (witnesseth Socrates) no-  
thyng either with God or with man  
maye dure or abyde. Feare depen-  
deth on loue, and without loue it is  
soone hadde in contempt.

**Quem me- not ye, that he was a wyse man that  
tuunt od- sayde, Men whom they feare they hate, and  
eant i que whom they hate, they wolde were destroyed.**  
**Wyse**



Wysedome causeth menne to be honoured, liberalitee to be meruailed at, but gentilnesse and affabilitie only to be heartily loued. Grauntee proceedeth of wysedome, and consisteth not in countenaunce, but is compacte of two vertues. Constance and Prudence. Wherefore it can neuer be counterfayte, if the actes be well expended and tried. For where it lacketh the sayde two vertues, it is eyther nicenesse and to be laughed at, or els pride oueragiousse and to be abhozred and hated. But affabilitie can neuer be viciousse, for though it be in one that lacketh discrecion, yet by libertie of speche, which increaseth therby, he shalbe so oftentymes warned, that he shall defalcate that thyng that seemeth superfluousse. Ne the accesse of flatterers or detractours, to him that mortally hateth theym, can brynge any damage. For he is to muche a foole, that wyll shewe his brest naked vnto his enemye. And to him that is surely armed, it is no peryll though his enemy assaunte him, ye perchance if his enemy finde him inuincible, he

odiant per  
rile cipee  
tunt  
Ennis.  
Grauntee.

## IMAGE OF

shall afterward be afearde to appoꝛ  
che hymn.

**T**hus haue ye father Gordiane,  
not onely myne op'nion herein, but  
also my determinate sentence, not  
therby dispraisyng your honourable  
grauntce, which for the causes that I  
haue reherſed, is in your person right  
laudable, but in me beyng not so well  
known in this ctee amonge the Ro-  
mains, which of theyꝝ nature be free,  
and were neuer in ſeruitude, it ſeemeth  
not to be ſo expedient. Albeit if I re-  
ſigned in Perſia, where the people fro  
the beginning haue byn beſt governed  
by tyranny, I woulde perchauce or  
therwyſe do changyng aſſabilitee in-  
to ſtraungeneſſe and ſtately counte-  
nance, which improperly (in mine op-  
inion) ye in your letters haue named  
Maieſtee. Thus fare ye well, and  
haſte you to retourne to the Senate,  
which with me deſyꝛeth the preſence  
of your excellent wyſedome.

**S**one after the emperour Alexan-  
der, beyng elected conſull, he ſolicited  
the ſenate and people to electe alſo  
Gordiane into that office, aſſumyng  
that

that his youth required for the vtilitie of the publike weale, to be ioynted with such a companion as Gordiane was, whose wisdom, experience, and grantee, was of all men sufficiently known.

**T**he first practise of Alexander in reducing of the empire vnto his private honour. Capi. viii.

**T**he noble & prudent lady Mamea, mother of the emperour Alexander considering his son to be now entred into the most dangerous passage of youth, being but .xvi. yerres old, feared lest the excellency of his estate (as it oftentimes hapned to other) shoulde incite hym to avaricious things, whiche frayle nature thinketh delectable, and tasting ones of them, his tender youth might not withstande the assaults and pleasant affections, whereby he might eversooner bring the empyre into ruine & infamy, and hym selfe and all his bloud to utter destruction. Therfore she perceiuyng hym to be obedyent to his exhortacions, (in dedde she was a woman of muche wysedome and holys



## IMAGE OF

holinesse, but that he was somewhat noted of couetyse) he, with good reason perswaded hym, that he could neuer well stablyshe his astate imperial, but onely by reducyng of the Senate and people into their pristinate ordre, whiche coulde neuer be brought to passe, excepte that fyrst his owne palaice were cleane purged of personages corrupted with vices, and into theyr places men of approued vertue and wysdome elected. And semblauble that to the example of the emperours owne householde, the sundrie dignities and offyces in the locale publike were aptely distributed: considering that the princes palaice is lyke a common fountayne or springe to his chere or countrey, wherby the people by the cleanness therof be long preserved in honestie, or by the impurenesse therof, are with sundry vices corrupted. And wherbyll the fountaine be purged, there can neuer be any sure hope of remedie.

**¶** Wherfore Alexander immediately after that he had receiued of the Senate and people the name of Augustus,

thus, wherunto was annexed the emperors power and iurisdiction impery all, wherby he mought commaunde or prohibite what he thought moſte conuenient, fyrſte he diſcharged all miniſters, whiche the monſtrouſe beaſt Heliogabalus had vndiſcretely promoted of moſte vyle and diſhoneſt perſonages, vaniſhing alſo out of his palaice, all ſuche as he mought by any meanes know, to be perſons infamous: ſemblable flatterers, as well thoſe, which therfore were fauoured of his predeceſſour, as them, whom he apprehended, abuſyng hym with ſemblable falſchode. Accordyng to that example he reformed the whole ſenate and iudges, and alſo al other dignities and offices in the publyke weale. In lyke maner he purged his garrifons and men of warre, and corrected theyr liberties and priuileges, geuen vndiſcretely to them by other emperours, or by them myſuſed. Moreover, with all ſpede conuenient, by the aduiſe of Alpiane his tutor, Frontinus, and other the wyſeſt men of the Senate, he with all diligence

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Diligence elected out of all partes of the empire, a conuenient and honorable company of wyse and honorable counsaylours. This numbre were the most excellent lawyers, of whose sentences is made the terte of the lawe ciuile, gathered in the booke named the *Digestes*. There was also Fabius Gabinus, surnamed Cato for his singular wisdom. Also Gordian, of whom I late did wyte, a man of much grauitee and noblenesse, whose sonne was afterwarde emperour. Moreouer there was Claudius Menas, a noble and eloquent oratour. Also Catilius Seuerus, kinsman to the emperour, most excellently learned about all other. Serenianus a man of greate perfection and grauitee. And Caius Marcellus, who was of such vertue and goodnesse, that neuer h' story remembred a better. These good and honorable personages, with many other not of much lesse estimation, at all tymes and places attended vpon that noble emperour: of the whiche Calpurnius was in maner his chancellour or keeper of



per of the imperiall monumentes:  
And the emperour had hym for his  
chiefe counsaillour.

**I**n what fourme the emperour Alex-  
ander had his counsaile, which  
alway attended vpon his  
person. Capit. ix.

**T**he fourme of Alexanders coun-  
saile, was as hercafter ensueth.  
¶ First all matters and causes  
ciuile of great importance, he caused  
to be examined and brought in order  
by the great lawiers before reherced,  
of whom Alpiane was chiefe, & they  
made true report thereof vnto hym.

¶ Moreover he wolde neuer make  
decree or ordinance without xx. lawi-  
ers substantiallyl learned, and fiftie  
other experte and eloquent men, and  
that was done after this maner. E-  
very mans opinion and sentente was  
thoroughly and quierly harde without  
interruption or altercacion. Ther-  
to were assigned. viii. secretaries or cler-  
kes, men of quicke and substanciall  
memozy, who in bryefe notes or sy-  
phers, made for that purpose, wrote  
every

## IMAGE OF

euery woorde that by those counsay-  
lours was spoken. Moreover a  
competent tyme was geuen to euery  
counsaillour to study and seke for such  
reason as he wolde purpose, to the in-  
tent they shoulde not speake vnadui-  
sedly in thynges of importaunce.

¶ It was also this emperours cus-  
tome, that whan he treated of lawes  
and matters politike, he called ther-  
to learned men, and suche as were e-  
loquent and well reasoned.

¶ If he commoned of matters tou-  
chyng warre and hostilitie, he called  
to hym olde and experte capitaynes,  
whiche had valiantly acquitted theym  
selues in sundry battails. Also them  
that were experte in the situation of  
places, pitching of fieldes, and pre-  
paracion of camps. He wolde also  
here diuerse, whiche were perfectly  
and ripely instructed in histories, in  
serchyng by them, what the emper-  
ours and princes, as well Romans  
as of other nations befoze that tyme,  
had dooen in semblable causes, as  
were at that time in reasonyng.

¶ And after all they opinions and  
sentences

sentences were wytten, by the secretaries (as is before mencioned) and that they conferring together, had made therof one perfecte minute of every mans saying, and deliuered it to the emperour, with as much haste as was possible: Than he in a place secreete perusing the minute, and assembling and pondering the sentences thoroughly, after a competent tyme therein bestowed, cyther gathering of them one perfect conclusion, or elles adding to some thyng of his inuencion, he finally opened his conceite among all his counsaylours, whom he had before hearde, notwithstanding he gaue to them libertie, either to allowe his sentence, or yf any man had any thyng newly deuysed, eftsoones to declare it. And that sentence which was of most wyse men approued, that alwaye prevailed, and he thereto consented, and caused it with all diligence to be put in experience. For he was of suche moderacion of mynde, that nothyng more pleased him, than to here any man with a substantiall and trewe reason to confute his opinion:



## IMAGE OF

nion: whiche caused him to byng to  
passe thynges to be maruayled at.

But now wyll I declare the oracion  
that he made in the Senate, after that  
he had sette in good order his owne  
proue householde.

**T**he oracion of Alexander to  
the Senate. Capi. r.

**T**he inestimable maiestee of this  
empire (as ye well know hono-  
rable fathers) lyke as it toke  
begynnyng and increase of prowesse  
and politike wysdome, so by the same  
and lyke means it muste be conser-  
ued. Our moste noble progenitour  
and founder of this empyre, the valy-  
aunt Romulus, beyng in his tender  
infancy, caste out of the palaice, and  
nourished amonge the pooze herdmen,  
with susteyning much hunger, colde,  
and continuall trauaile, atchieued  
this lytle porcion of grounde, wher-  
in now standeth the principall ruler  
and maiestee of all the worlde. To  
the ayde of his prowesse he added  
the quiete and vigilant study of rude  
shepe:

sheepehardes olde and decrepite,  
whose bodies beyng macerate with  
labours, and made feeble with age,  
although they mought nothyng pro-  
fite in battayle, yet theyr wytes be-  
yng confirmed by longe experience,  
and free from the veracion of wan-  
ton affections, they no lesse aduanced  
and sette forth the enterpryse of the  
couragious Romulus, than did the  
diligence and prowesse of his lustie  
souldiours. Neither his strength or  
courage, ne the wittes of his rude se-  
natours became so excellent, as it se-  
med at that tyme to be, by feedyng  
superfluously, by beastly idelnesse,  
or wanton pastymes, but onely by  
temperaunce in liuyng, vigilant pro-  
vidence, and continuall exercise:  
wherby strengthe is nourished, and  
wittes be increased: Lyke as by the  
other the strengthe of bodie is resolu-  
yd, and the wittes be consumed or  
unprofitably disperied. And certes  
lyke as the fyrste is proued to be true  
by the example before declared, and  
many other succedynge that tyme:  
So the laste is semblable verified  
If by late

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by late experience, and wherof the  
steppes yet do remayde to our no lyt-  
tell grieve and displeasure : consyde-  
ryng that therby this noble empyre  
is lyke to fall into extreme ruine,  
and perpetuall infamie, vnlesse your  
moste excellent wysedomes wylly dy-  
ligently and constantly prepare your  
selues to the certayne remedy against  
this peryll intollerable, whiche re-  
medy onely shall be the purgynge and  
refozmacion as well of this moste  
honourable compagne of senatours,  
as of all other dignitees and estates  
in the weale publyke. In the whiche  
inquisicion we desyre none other  
prerogative, but that it maye take  
his fyrste begynnynge at our propre  
palayce and householde, and in our  
owne persone to be fyrste executed, to  
the intente that the principall foun-  
tayne, beyng founde cleane, the rem-  
nant of our subiectes, whose order of  
lyuing procedeth of our example, as  
riuers and sundry lakes from a heade  
sprynge, whiche is sette on a moun-  
tayne, maye with lyttle dyfficultee  
be moze easely purged. Noz other  
affaire



# GOVERN

31

estate or preeminence wyll I requyre,  
but where youthe refuseth in me the  
most reuerende name of father of the  
countrey, whiche ye offered vnto me,  
yet condescendyng to parte of your  
genyll requestes, I wyll gladly re-  
ceyue the names and tytles of pro-  
tectour of the senate and tribune, or  
els if better do lyke you, defender of  
the Romaine people. And on that  
behalfe I requyre you, for the appro-  
bacion of my sincere loue to the pub-  
lyke weale, that accor dyng to the an-  
cient and laudable custome of this  
noble citce, ye wyll cause to be chosen  
Censores or correctours of maners,  
suche personages as neuer were in-  
famed with any vyce notable, and  
whose lyues be inculpable, and ther-  
with be sufficiently furnysshed with  
wysedome and grauitee, voyde also  
of all priuate affection, feare, auarice,  
and flattery. Who lyke good sur-  
geons, shall not forbear with corro-  
sive and sharpe medicines, to drawe  
out the festred and stinking sores of  
olde marmolles and inueterate sores  
of the weale publyke, ingendred by  
If ii the

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the longe custome in vice. To the whiche remedie as a necessarie minister, I shall put to my propre handes and assistance vnto the death. Leauyng remembraunce after me, that in making me your emperour, ye working haue appayzed of the imperiall maiestie, but haue aduanced it with the publike weale of your citie. To the ratification of the whiche iudgement of you noblefathers, I shall applie holily my studie, trauayle, and diligence, calling God to wytnesse, that the Senate and people of Rome, shall sooner faile the publyke weale, then I shall leaue any parte of my duitie.

¶ Howe the correctours of maners, called Censores, were elected, & with what rigour they executed theyr office by the commaundement of Alexander.  
Capi. xi.

**T**he sayd oracion of the emperour Alexander beyng finished, a wonderfull reioysing entred into the hertes of the senators, which were

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were vertueuse and honorable, and  
 beynge replenished with ioye, they all  
 spake on high with one voice saying:  
 Emperour Alexander, God euer pre-  
 serue the. God sent thee vnto vs. *Lampyris*  
 God euer defende the. God hath de- *us.*  
 liuered thee from the vncleane Helio-  
 gabalus. God kepe the perpetual-  
 ly. Thou dydst longe tollerate that  
 mischeuous tyranne, thou dost la-  
 ment his abhominable lyping, and at  
 the last god hath deliuered the & vs al-  
 so of him, & to this hath brought the.  
 ¶ After these and many moe congra-  
 tulacions made to the emperour, he  
 geuyng to the senate condigne than-  
 kes, departed to his palaice. And  
 shortly after there were chosen by the  
 common consente of the Senate and *Marius*  
 people, foure Censors, two to remaine *Maximus.*  
 in the citie, and other two for Tra-  
 lie, and the prouynces vnder the  
 name of latines: from whence were  
 electe for the more parte Senatours,  
 iudges, and other chiefe officers, whic-  
 che had iurisdiction and authoritee  
 to gyue any sentence. The Cens-  
 lors for the citie were Fabius Sa-  
 binus



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binus, and Catilius Seuerus, men of excellent wysedome and grauitie: And for the prouinces were made Quintilius Marcellus, and Caius Manlius, men of auncient nobilitie and great seueritie.

### Office of Censors.

**T**he office of Censors was to note the maners of euery person, whiche was in any degree of honour, that is to saye, aboue the astate of the common people, wherein was shewed such rigour, that no man was spared, so that if a knyght, a iudge, or a senator hadde vsed any vnseemely thing appairing or reigning the estimacion of the degree, whiche he represented, it was in the auctoritie of the Censors to degrade or discharge him of his office or dignitie.

**S**oone after the sayd election, they made Alexander consull: Who with all diligence procured, that Aelius Gordianus, of whom I late spake, was made his companion in the Consulate, wherat some of the people grudged, fearyng least the surdinesse and hault courage of Gordiane shuld change the incomparable gentilnesse of Alex:

of Alexander into crueltee and pryde: but it succeeded all otherwyse, for the wise emperour, by the exquisite grauitee of his companion, reformed so his nature, which was in wyse mens oppynion moze easye, and simple than apperteigned to the imperiall estate, that by al mens iudgement he became in moderacion of vertues, of all other incomparable.

¶ The Censores immediately after that they were elected, vigilantly and warpely executed theyr offices. For fyrst they discharged out of the senate all suche, whiche by Helio- gabalus, for theyr abhominable luyng or flat- tery, were therto promoted.

¶ Semblably they purged the or- der of knyghthode, disgradyng all knyghes, whiche were shamelesse le- chours, mainteigners of theues, or theyr theym selues robbers. In lyke wyse al those, which of baudes, ruf- fians, carters, cookes, and other like reprocheable persons, were by Helio- gabalus put in auctooritee. The same industry they vsed in reformed iud- ges, and other heade officers as well

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in the cite, as about in the prouinces,  
Finally none astate or degree escaped  
theyr rebuke or correction. Nor the  
emperours palaise was exempt from  
theyr iurisdiction: In so muche as  
Aurelius Philippus, who was some-  
tyme a bondeman, notwithstanding  
that he was manumised, and had byn  
the emperours schoolemaister, and  
after wrote his lyfe, forasmuch as he  
dyd ryde in a chariote, and would be  
saluted as a Senatour, the Censors  
caused hym to be ladde to pryson, and  
prohibited him for comming to the em-  
perours palaise, but onely on foote,  
and his copped cappe on his heade,  
which facion onely was vsed of them  
that were infranchised. And although  
for his good learnyng and honestie,  
some noble men aduised the emperour,  
that he should requyre the Censors,  
that they should withdrawe theyr ry-  
gour in correctyng Philippe, consider-  
yng that he had been sometyme his  
scholemaister: He nothyng woulde  
dooe, to let or restraine the sharpe cor-  
rection of the Censors, but muche ex-  
tolling theyr constauce, he answered:

If



If the common weale may haue euer  
such officers, in short space there shall  
be founde in Rome moe men woorthy  
to be emperours, then I at my com-  
myng founde good senatours.

And immediatly he ordeigned, that  
there shoulde neuer libertine, that is  
to say, any man of a bonde ancetour,  
be of the Senate, saying: That the  
order of knyghthod was the place,  
from whens were fetcht the plantes  
of the Senate, that is to say: from  
whense the senatours were elected.  
Notwithstanding he purchased a  
goodly mancion, with sufficient reue-  
nues, not farre from Rome, whiche  
he gaue to the sayd Philippe, saying  
to hym: Before I was emperour, I  
disdeigned not to folow thy doctrine.  
Now be thou as well contented, for  
the increase of mine honor and of the  
weale publike, to obey to mine ordi-  
naunce. And although the maiestie  
of the citee maye not permitte the to  
be openly receiued in the noumbre of  
our familiars, yet priuie resorte shall  
approue our fauour towards thee,  
not losse, but increased.

F b

Of

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**O**f such meruailous seueritie was this emperour, that no kynde of affection or priuate appetite moughte reflect hym from the sharpe execution of his lawes or lawdable customes of the citie, as moze yet shall appears in the chapter folowynge.

**O**f the great prudence of Alexander vled in the election of his counsailours and officers.

Capitulo. xii.

**I**f oftentimes hapneth, that where god doth orzinate a pryncer with naturall giftes and also great vnderstandyng and sharpenesse of witte, he for lacke of election (whiche is a great parte of prudence) hauyng about hym counsailours, companions, and officers vnmete or vnworthy, maketh the sayd orzamentes vnprofitable, or peraduenture incommodiouse to the weale publike, where of he hath gouernaunce, wherby the reuynne, whiche were condigne, and as it were incident to rare and excellent qualitees, is lost and dieth with the body, or els (which is much worse) is touned

is touned to perpetual reproache and dishonour: whiche the emperour Alexander circumspectely considering, he with an incomparable study prepared for hym selfe certeyne rules of election, as hereafter foloweth.

¶ Fyyste he Determined to loue all, that was vertue, and to hate all that was vice, in what person so euer the one or the other shoulde happen.

Rules  
wherby a  
prince  
shoulde re-  
lecte coun-  
saylours.

¶ Also what so euer pleasure or commoditye mought come to hym by embracing or tolleratyng of any notable vyce, he woulde rather lacke it, thoughe it were to his detrimente, than to bee seene to chaunge his opinion, least any man shoulde thereby take occasion to commende vice.

¶ And for as muche as vnder his empire were dyuers and sundry nations, wherof also the people by naturall disposicion be diuersely inclyned to vertue or vice, he therfore applied hym selfe to knowe the sundry wittes, maners, affectes, and studies of men, bozne in every region, countrey and notable citee, throughout the world: which knowlage he apprehend-  
ed so



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ded so exquisitely, as well by study-  
ous reading of many histories and o-  
ther notable workes of morall phi-  
losophie, as by diligent examining of  
capitaines, and marchauntes, which  
had trauailed and bin in sundry coun-  
treys: wherby he was wonderfully  
holpen in his elections and iudgements,  
as it shall hereafter appeare.

**H**e would neuer accepte commend-  
dacion of any person, befoze he hym  
selfe had spoken with hym, and that  
by secrete scrutinie he had been truely  
informed of hym. And yet the  
commendacion that he would after-  
warde here, shoulde be a parte, none  
other man hearing, but hym selfe, lest  
if many were presente, and he that  
commended were in auctoritee, other  
hearsers although they knew the con-  
trary, shoulde eyther a firme a faulse  
commendacion, or elles feare to saye  
trueth, yf they shoulde be thereof de-  
maunded.

**I**n theym that were counsaillours,  
he utterly abhorred ambition and  
flattery In iudges, he hated with ex-  
treme detestacion couerise and wrath.

In bothe the one and the other he loved Sinceritee, vulgarely called vpr: *Sinceritee* rightnesse.

**T**he perfecte knowlage of mens condicions he had not by the repaire of theyr superiours or equals, ne by theym which dwelled farre from the habytation of those whom they praised, but by the examination of theyr highest neighbours, being men of honestie, and not theyr enemies. And that was practised by suche of his owne peomen as were most auncient and sage: whiche findyng occasion to ride through the countreys, where they were neyther boine nor had possessions, shulde make this diligent scrutinie or serche. And to suche manner of persones the common people woulde more familiarly and plainly declare theyr opinions, than to gentlemen or men in auctoritee. But if thempetour perceived afterwarde, that he had been vntruely informed by any of his sayde espialles (whiche sometymes he dyd by further experyence, as beeynge in his progresse, or hym selfe hearing and discouyng  
com-

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complaintes of the common people openly and with a great deliberation and grauitie (he than extreemelye, and without hope of remission, punished the false reporters, were it in prayse or detraction: causing theyr tounge to be perced through with a hotte brennyng yron, and to be banished his court and presence for euer. Whiche punishment, althoughe it myll seme to some men sore and cruell: yet considering (that vsyng this meane) he was neuer deceiued by counsaylours, and also that Justice was duely executed by theym that were in auctoritee, that maner of rigor maye be thought necessarye and very expedient. Also the punishment being in a fewe executed at the beginning, the seueritie of the prince became so terrible, that men so greiuousely feared hym, that neyther desyre, rewarde, nor dread of any other man coulde let the sayde espialles to reporte truely, according as they had founden by theyr diligent scrutinie.

¶ One maruailouse cautell he vsed, that is to saye: One man was not oftentimes



sentymes in that truste of espiall.

And those personages were chosen and appointed onely by hym selfe, without makynge any other man pryue, vntyl he had depzeended them with some maner of falsehode.

¶ Finally he was of such a wonderfull discrecion and sobrenesse, that no repozte coulde brynge hym out of patience, oz into suspicion, vntyl he had well tried the repozte with some pratie experience, as it shall be declared hereafter.

¶ And thus I make an ende of the fyrst parte of his gouernance, which was in orderynge of his owne persone and courte : whereby principally he brought not onely the citee of Rome, but also all the whole empyre (not withstandynge the beastely lycence brought in by Helioabalus) in as good estate as cuer it was in the time of any of his moste noble progenitors.

Done

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**T** Howe extremely Alexander hated  
extorcioners and bribours, and  
howe much he fauoured them  
that were vertuouse.

Capitulo. xiii.

**T**he emperour Alexander hadde  
suche indignacion, towards  
them that were extorcioners or  
bribours, that if by chaunce he espied  
any of them, he was therewith so gre-  
ued, that he immediately wolde bo-  
mie vp colar, and his face being as it  
were on a fier of a longe time moughe  
not speake one worde.

**O**n a tyme one Septimius Arabi-  
nus, who in the tyme of Heliogaba-  
lus was a famouse bribour, came in  
the company of Senatours, to salute  
the emperour Alexander, who behol-  
dyng hym, sayde with a loude voyce:  
O lord god, beholde, Arabinus not  
onely lyueth, but also presumeth to  
be in the Senate. Heraduenture he  
trueth in me, iudgyng me to be an  
ignorant and foolyshe emperour.

**M**oreouer he ordeined, that where  
there were founden any extorcioners,  
or bribours, that they shuld be openly  
examined

examyned and iudged, and by the gouernours of countreyes sente into exile.

**¶** When he was in his progresse, suche as were gouernours or Iudices in prouinces, whom he hearde worthily commended without sinister affection, he would in his iourney take them into his horse-litter, communing with them of the state of theyr countrey, and honourynge them with rewarde, saying: That lyke as extorcioners and bribours are to be impouerished: so good men and iuste are to be enryched.

**¶** In hearing the complaintes of his souldiours agaynst theyr capitaynes, yf he founde any capitayne faulty in that thyng, wherof he was accused: forthwith he caused him to be punished after the qualitee of his offence, without any hope of remission. Semblably byd he to his souldiours and seruantes. For where they iniustely greened any person, he corrected them sharply, and with a meruailous austeritee.

**¶** To one of his secretaries, whiche forged an vnttrue bil in his counsaile,  
G he com:



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he commaunded the sinues of his fingers, wherewith he dyd wypte, to be cutte, and so to be bitterly banished. Wherfore he was called Severus, whiche is as muche to saye, as Harpe or rigorous: for Seueritee is tygour in punishment, accordyng to the qualitee of the offence, haupyng respecte to a good purpose, without any desyre of vengeance. And it is that parte of iustice, that consisteth in execution: the commendacion wherof shall appeare in the next chapter.

**A** notable example geuen by Alexander in reprouing an ambitious and vaine glorious counsaylor. Capi. xiiii.

**I** Suppose it shall not bee tedious to good men to heare one incomparable example of the seueritee of this meruailouse emperour, which although it shall seme to many that shall here it, to be ouer vehement and greuous, yet in readdyng the chapter next folowynge, it shall be sufficiently declared by the wordes of the same emperour, that his sayde rigorous

gour in iudgement was necessarily b:  
sed, and with equaltee in iustice, des  
seruyng in no part to be repressed.  
But now wyl I reherse the said story  
¶ There was about the sayde emper  
tour a man of great honour, called  
Melcontus Turinus, whom for his  
great witte and sageneſſe in appar  
taunce, the Emperour had in singu  
lar fauour, in so muche as he called  
hym to his prync counsaile, and vſed  
to bee with hym more familiare than  
he was commonly with any other:

whiche so muche blynded the inward  
eye of Turinus, that he coulde not see  
in hym selfe, whiche he not longe be  
fore had condemned in oher, suche  
incomparable sweeteneſſe is founden  
in the familiare companie of princes.  
Wherfore like as whan the compani  
ons and seruauntes of Calices had  
eaten abundantly of the herbe called  
Loios, the taste therof was so plea  
saunt and meruailouse, that all that  
ate therof, forgettyng theyr owne  
propre countrey, coneted to remaigne  
yll in that region, where that herbe  
grew: and but onely by violence

B ii

they

## IMAGE OF

they coulde not be brought to theys  
shoppes, to retourne to theys propre  
houses : semblable *Turinus*, after he  
had be n with the emperour in an in-  
warde and secrete familiaritee, he  
founded it so pleasaunte, that forget-  
tyng from whens he was called, and  
takng lytle heede of any other parte  
of his office, he put his whole iud-  
dic and delectacion to augmente the  
opinion of men, that thought that  
the emperour woulde nothyng dooe  
without his aduise, wherby he shuld  
bee magnyfied and honoured aboue  
all other of the emperours counsay-  
lours. And therfore he had conti-  
nuall suite made vnto hym, as well  
by them that had suites to the Em-  
perour in theys parricular causes, as  
others that loked for offices or great  
promociions. To euery man a parte  
he woulde promise his fauour, and  
therefore receiued greate rewarde  
and presentes, but finally whom he  
knewe that the emperour had prefer-  
red in office, or any thyng determi-  
ned in his iuste cause. (For that  
mought he knowe, beyng with the  
empe:



emperour so secreete, althoughe the good emperour dyd nothyng by his perswasion onely: but by prudente aduise and good delyberacion, as it shall here after appeare) on hym woulde he becke, if he were in the chaumber. And oftentymes in a daie he wolde come from the emperour into the chaumber of presence, or place, where suiters awaited, and of whom he had receiued money, to them wold he saie, that he had remembred them, and in their request or matier receiued good comforte, whan in deede he spake not thereof one woorde.

¶ Finally by the colour of this familiar and secreete recourse, that he had to the emperour, he gathered much treasure: but at the laste dyuers, and in great numbze, to whom he had promised, that thing that they sued for, notwithstanding they receiued nothing in conclusion but noddes with the head, founde theym selues deceiued, and theyr great summes of money vayneely employed: wherat they murmured, and partely mewed with disdeigne, partely with pouer:  
 B iii                    ter, they

## IMAGE OF

see, they brast forth at the laste into manifest grudgynge: whiche came to the emperours eare, by what meanes I knowe not, but suche abuses can not be longe hydde from princes, that haue theyr eares perforate (as is the prouerbe.) Whiche the emperour hearyng, was moued with meruaylouse displeasure, considerynge that Turinus, wh<sup>o</sup> he had in so great estimation, abusynge his persone in feygning him to be his pupill or seruant, had solde his determinacions and sentence, wherby he had defamed his Maiestee, in that that Turinus had broughen men in belefe, that the emperour dyd nothyng (but as it were) at his onely becke and commaundement. Whiche opinion to redresse he vied this pollicie.

¶ He caused one to despyre a thyng of hym openly, and afterwarde to sue to Turinus priuily to helpe hym in his demaunde, and secretly to moue the emperour for hym: whiche beyng done, and that Turinus had promised his good wyll to hym that sued, and soone after saying, that he had some  
what

what meued the emperour therein,  
 where in deede he spake not thereof  
 any one worde, and that he abode an  
 aunswere therof: wherbypon he recei-  
 ued of the sayde suter a great summe  
 of money, whiche the emperour know-  
 yng, caused hym to call eftsoones on  
 Turinus: but he as if he had in hande  
 other busynesse, onely beckened on  
 hym without speakyng any thyng,  
 to hym, for in deede the emperour  
 had geuen to an other that thyng  
 whiche this man sued for, whiche  
 grudgyng therat, discovered openly  
 what Turinus had of hym receiued:  
 that knowyng the emperour, he cau-  
 sed Turinus immediately to bee ar-  
 rested, and openly in his presence to  
 be accused: whiche was doone by a  
 great numbze, whom he had also de-  
 ceiued, takyng of them great summes  
 of money for offices, and other thyn-  
 ges, which they neuer obteyned.

Wherefoze after Turinus was con-  
 demned by sufficiente and credible  
 wytnesse, in whose presence he had  
 receiued this byberie, and in whose  
 hearyng he had effectually promysed:

But he was



## IMAGE OF

he was iudged by the emperour, to be ladde into the open market place, where moste resort was of the people, and there beeyng bounden to a stake, with smoke made of grene stickees and werte stubbell, to be smouldred to death. And durynge the tyme of his execution, the emperour commaunded a beedill to crye, *with fume shall be dye that fumes bath solde*: But to thentent men shulde not thynke, that for one offence the iudgement was so cruell and rigorous, ere euer *Turinus* was condemned to dye, the emperour made diligent serche, and by euident proufes it was founden, that *Turinus* had often and in many causes receiued money of bothe parties, promysynge to aduaunce theyr cause to the emperour. Moreover to proue the seueritee of this emperour laudable, it shalbe declared in the chapter next folowynge.

The

## GOVERN

24

**T**he consultation concerning the  
punishment of Turinus, and the  
excellent reason of the emper-  
our Alexander.

Capi. xv.

**I**n the meane tyme that Turinus  
was accused, and before his  
condemnation, the emperour  
Alexander accordynge to his custo-  
mable vsage, gaue conuenient tyme to  
his counsaillours to deliberate by the  
selves, & ever that they gaue any sen-  
tence, what punishment shoulde be  
equall to the offence of Turinus, and ne-  
cessary for an example to other, that  
they presumed not to doe the sembla-  
ble. After whan the counsaile was  
called, euery man was commaunded  
to declare his opinion: Some reason-  
ed, that the open rebuke with suf-  
ficiente satisfaction vnto the partie,  
shoulde be a conuenient punishment:  
Other added to imprisonment, for a  
certayne tyme: dyuers wolde that he  
shoulde be banysht farre from the  
court, many affirmed with vehement  
argumences, that he deserued to be  
beheaded

## IMAGE OF

beheaded, considering, that in abusing the emperours maiestee, in selling great offices to persons unworthy, he had put the publyke weale in no litle hazard. The emperour advisedly hearing all theyr opinions, last of all (as it was his maner) reasoned in this wyse, as hereafter followeth. My trusty and well beloved counsaillours, we have hitherto attentively harde and thoroughly considered your wyse and honourable sentences, declared with free and uncorrupted myndes, although by the diuersitee of your naturall inclinations, your sundry reasons seeme to haue no litle diuersitee, as it happeneth in all consultations, wherein diuerse men dooe shewe theyr conceytes freely without feare of blame, as I doubt not but ye doe. Notwithstandinge for as muche as hearyng all your opinions and reasons, I haue my wyt the better instructed to fynde out and declare (excepte I bee deceived) what shoulde be the most expediente and necessary punishment of Turinus, for the offences whiche he hath



hath committed, wherin ought to be  
no lesse severitye (as I will proue  
with good reason) than yf he had  
attempted to haue slayne me, or to  
burne this moste noble Citie of  
Rome, the honourable mansion of  
goddess, and common refuge of all  
the worlde.

¶ First ye remember, that ye chuse  
me to be your gouernour, not onely  
for the nobilitie of my progenitours,  
ne for theyr images or monumentes  
of thankfull remembraunce, yea ra-  
ther for the beastly and moste abhor-  
mynable lyfe of Helioabalus, my  
cousen germane, ye had more cause  
to refuse me: neyther ye made me  
your Emperour and prince for the  
goodlyneſſe of my person, or prouewe  
shewed by me in your warres: I be-  
yng yet for tenderneſſe of age vneth-  
able to dooe feates of armes, muche  
lesse to leade an army, specially such  
one as pertaineth to this noble em-  
pyre. But truly it was for the good es-  
timation and hope that ye had in the  
towardneſſe of mine education & na-  
ture, thinkyng it to be aptly disposed  
to vertue,

## IMAGE OF

to vertue, wherein beyng brought bp  
in childhod, I ought to haue alway  
about me, suche as be of lyke disposi-  
tion: and by theyr assistance and coun-  
saile, to moderate and rule the pu-  
blyke weale of this citee. It ought  
therfore to be kept in remembraunce,  
that as I haue sayde, by the good op-  
inion and hope that all men haue  
conceiued of me, this publike weale,  
which beyng subuerted, I founde as  
none, I haue reedified (and be it spok-  
ken without boist) almost made newe  
from the foundation.

¶ Than if he that enforceth him selfe  
to bren the houses, or to beate downe  
the walles of the citee, by good ius-  
tice and reason shoulde suffre death:  
by a muche greater reason ought  
*Turinus* to dye, that hath endeuoured  
him selfe to subuert and destroy that,  
wherby the publike weale as well  
was begunne, as is also preserued,  
considering that the publike weale in  
estimation is to be preferred before  
the materiall citee, as muche as the  
lyfe of a man and renoume of vertue  
be of more value than stone or timbre,  
wher

wherewith the walles and houses be builded. And therfore Aristotle, in defining, what is a Citie, dooeth not *Citie.* call it a place builded with houses, and enuironed with walles, but saith that it is a company, whiche hath sufficiencie of lyuynge, and is constitute or assembled to the intent to lyue well. Wherefore it is the people and the weale of them that maketh the citie. And the destruction and subuersion therof, ought with more rigour and vehement punishment to be reuenged, if more sharpe punishment may be than death, than brennyng and beatyng downe of materiall houses or walles.

**T**his well and deeply considered, it shall not be thought that they, that haue reasoned for the mitigation of Turinus punishment, hadde before in remembraunce, and sufficiently examined the greuousnesse of his offence, accordyng as I haue declared it, but onely considered his bare acte without any circumstance. But yet the treason dooen also to me, aggraueth the trespass. Is it not treason, to conspyre the destruction of the



## IMAGE OF

of thy soueraigne lord: moſte of all,  
of whom thou art entirely fauoured,  
and put in great truſt: Is there a:  
ny diuerſitie betwene the ſlackynge  
of hym with a dagger, or ky'lynge  
hym with poyſon, and by ſome cir:  
cumſtance to cauſe his people to rebel  
againſt hym, and in theyr furie to ſee  
hym? Who comparynge to gether  
the ſourme and maner of theſe offen:  
ces, wyll not ſuppoſe it reaſon, that  
the puniſhmentes therfore ſhoulde be  
much more vehemente and ſharpe,  
than for any other tranſgreſſion, ſice  
Juſtice limitteyth equall puniſhment  
in propozcion, accorдынge to the im:  
portauce, that is to ſaye: The great:  
neſſe or ſmalneſſe of the offences.

Nowe let vs conſyder the qualitie or  
ſubſtance of Turinus miſdemeanour.  
**C**In the tyme of the emperour Seue:  
rus and Caracalla, he was in ſmall  
eſtimacion: but after I was electe em:  
perour, he craftily ſmellyng out my  
diſpoſicion, by littell and lyttell ac:  
quainted him ſelfe with ſome of thoſe  
of whom for theyr vertues I had beſt  
opinion, and counterfeitynge theyr  
maners

maners, he at the lasse so aptely see  
foorth suche grauntee, whiche he ad-  
orned also with a wonderfull sharpe-  
nesse and promptitude of witte, that  
he obtaigned to bee hyghly recom-  
mended vnto me by the wyldest men of  
my counsaile: by whose aduyse fyrst  
I made hym one of my treasurers.

Finally I called hym nere me, and  
made hym of my priuie counsaile,  
wherein we founde hym so necessa-  
rie, that in our opinion his sentences  
were equiualent, and sometyme sur-  
mounted theym that hadde been in  
moste estimation. And to the en-  
tent that he woulde augment that o-  
pinion and credence, that we had in  
hym, he euer vled a great severitee  
of straighnesse in his sentences a-  
gaynst flatterers, dissemblers, and  
persons corrupted, namely suche as  
solde theyr endeuour or diligence in  
obteyning our fauour in any matter,  
or for any office. And by his industrie  
diuerse were detected vnto me, and  
punished accordyng to theyr merytes.  
For these causes I more and more  
toke him in fauor, and to encourage or  
ther

## IMAGE OF

ther to ensue his example, I did ad-  
uaunce him as ye know, to the highest  
dignities within the citee, except the  
consull, and haue participate with  
hym our moste priuy secretes, vsing  
hym so familiarly, that dyuers other  
of our counsaillours haue partly dis-  
deigned. Now behold what he hath  
done. First he hath deceiued and moc-  
ked vs with his hypocrisie, abusyng  
our simplicitie, and winnyng our fa-  
uour, and not our fauour onely, but  
also our credence and trust, whereby  
he mought finally moorke to his pri-  
uate commoditee, and to our confusi-  
on. For he beyng with vs in such fa-  
miliaritee as none other was, he pra-  
ctised those thynges that we moste  
abhorred, that is to say extorcion, sel-  
lyng of right and wronge, & merchan-  
disyng of offices and dignities. To  
whom is extorcion or bribes not gre-  
uous? althoughe the geuer receiue  
great lacre. Is there any thyng to be  
more abhorred than sellyng of Ius-  
tice, whiche knoweth no rewarde?  
Howe muche more intollerable is the  
selling of iniustice or wronge, whereby  
the



the one parte suffereth damage by su:  
 reigning of wronge, the other is more  
 indamaged by leesyng of his good  
 name and also his money, yf it hap:  
 pen, as it hath dooen oftentymes, by  
 a good and ryghtuouse governour,  
 that he whiche hath dooen wronge,  
 he compelled to make restitution.

But principally and aboue al other  
 am I most indamaged. For I vnwa:  
 res and innocent beyng brought into  
 the hatred of men, should be destroy:  
 ed befoze that I mought knowe that  
 I were in peryll. Now consider ye

the importaunce of *Turinus* offence,  
 conferryng it with all that, which  
 I haue reherfed, and by the way re:  
 membre, that not onely he that sleeth  
 his prince, or depopulateth his coun:  
 trey, and maketh it desolate, but also  
 he that conspireth to doe it, and ther:  
 to endeuoureth hym selfe with al his  
 puiſaunce, though he be let by some  
 occasion or studie, deserueth to die by  
 the determinacion of Justice distributiu.  
 By what meane he woulde doe  
 it, it is not materiall: excepte perad:  
 venture some man mought suppose,

Justice dis:  
 tributiu.

¶

that

## IMAGE OF

that the acte were more obfoufe of hym that procured the people to detroye theyr owne prince or countrey, whom they are bounde by allegiance and iurifc with all theyr power to defende, than of hym that dooth licitefting out or auncient enemies, to inuade his countrey.

**E** Finally if any common person, neuer receiuyng of me any benefyte, wolde reporte in the eares of the people, that I went about to change the ftate of the weale publike of this noble citee, to flea all the fenatours, to withdraw the people from theyr auncient libertees, and finally to bringe the maiestie of the empyre into a tyranny, and by fuche false informacion exciterh and fireth the fenate and people to hate me, and couet my destruction: fuche one proued at the lafte to haue fayde falſely. I beleeue ye wolde not thynke onely woorthy to die, but ye wolde with your owne handes difmembze hym, and plucke him in peeces. Why ſhoulde you not than thynke, that *Turinus*, whom I moſte fauoured, and was about me moſte

# GOVERN

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moste secrete, nor by reportyng euyl  
of me, (whiche perchaunce woulde  
not be belened) but by actuall deedes  
and openly commyetyng in iustyce,  
and tyrannie, in mainteignyng, sup-  
portyng, and comfortyng wronges,  
errozions, oppzessions, and other e-  
normitees against the weale publyke:  
also aduauuncyng euyl and vng raci-  
ouse personages to dignitees and of-  
fices, wherby Iustyce ought to be mi-  
nistred, and the publyke weale gouv-  
ned, and by these meanes quenchyng  
the good oppnyon and loue that all  
men had towarde me, and changeyng  
it to a feruent grutch and hatred,  
they thynkyng that *Turinus* dyd all  
thyng by our appoynement, styre the  
herres of the people ageynst me: why  
should ye not I say, thynke that such  
one hath deserved to dye? And as he  
was with vs in singular fauour and  
truste, and therein lyke to none other:  
so ought his deach to be singular and  
straunge, that by the nouelte therof  
it may be moze terrible, wherby or  
ther may feare from henseforth to  
abuse in suche maner our affabilitie,

By

whiche



## IMAGE OF

whiche beyng in vs naturall, with-  
out suche a munition can not bee  
sure and safely preserved. And for  
this our sentence no man oughte to  
deeme vs cruell, or to lacke mercie, if  
hee consyder diligently all that we  
haue spoken. And dooe also remem-  
bre, that to kepe an infinite nombie  
of men from the rigour of Justice, I  
spare not to execute the same rygour  
on hym, whom I specially fauoured.  
¶ After that the emperour had con-  
cluded in this wise his reason, there  
was no man offered to replie thereto,  
perceiuyng hym rather moued with  
zeale than with any periculer dis-  
pleasure: and to say the truely, when  
they hadde pondered his consideraci-  
ons, not findyng sufficient argument  
to confounde his opinion, finally they  
all beyng in nombie fytte wyse and  
honourable counsaylours, reioyced,  
that they had so wyse and vertuous  
an emperour, whiche preferred Jus-  
tice, and the weale of his people, be-  
fore any priuate affection or singular  
appetite. Than immediately follo-  
wed the execution of Thrinus, whiche  
was

**¶** *Exercitios*

was appoynted by the enperoure, in  
fewre as ye hearde it declared in the  
laste chapter.

**C** How Alexander instructed and en-  
terreigned them that were officers,  
and of his liberalitee toward  
them that dyd wel theyr dui-  
ties. Capit. xvi.

**N**otwithstanding the severities  
of this noble emperour in the  
sharpe punishmente of oppres-  
sions, excozions, and other offences of  
semblable importunance: yet was he  
toward suche as iustely executed their  
offices, for the publike weale, veray  
fauourable, genill, and bounteous.  
For if any of them had peraduenture  
at the begynnyng or fyrste entere into  
his rourne or auctoritee, vsed lesse di-  
ligence, or omitted some thing that he  
ought to haue dooen, eyther for lacke  
of experience, or hauyng not therein  
sufficient instruction, forscene alwaye  
that he did nothyng by corruption or  
viciousse affection: the emperour cal-  
lyng suche one to hym priuily and as  
part from all other. Fyrste he wolde

## IMAGE OF

remembre hym for what cause he had called hym to that rounge or auctoritee, the importance or charge wherof he wolde also declare, and than wolde he somewhat commend hym for his honestee and temperaunce, wherwith he wolde confesse him selfe to be satisfied, accordyng to his expectation: Than sadly and with a wonderfull grauetee, he wolde admonest or warne hym of his lacke in diligence or in omission, shewyng what damage the publyke weale mought susteine, by lacke of his circumspection, and without that, theyr vertues shoulde be vnprofitable to theyr office or dignitee. After wolde he exhort and requyre them with gentill countenance and wordes, to vse more studye and trauaile aboute the affaires of the weale publike, committed vnto theym, promysyng to them for their good endiuour, his assis- tence and fauour with honest recompence in the ende of theyr trauayles.

**C** Morcourt although he were thus industrious in espying out the demerit of euery man in his offyce, yet wolde



woulde he not suffer any other per-  
 son to rebuke or to scoone theym, say-  
 yng. That where any obedience is  
 due, thense ought to be excluded all  
 rebukynge or mockynge, consyderynge  
 that therof enueth contempt, which  
 lyke a pestilence consumeth all lawes  
 and auctoritee: And that he and the  
 senate were iudges of the duties of  
 theim that be in auctoritee. Also he  
 bled to say oftentymes: That it hap-  
 peth sometime, that they, which be  
 slacke in theyr duties at the begyn-  
 nyng, after they haue been monyshed  
 therof, eyther by theyr friendes, or by  
 the goodnesse of theyr people to it, e,  
 they haue been industriou e and dili-  
 gent. Contrarywise other, which  
 at the fyrst haue been quicke, with a  
 meruailouse dexteri ee and prompt-  
 nesse, they haue by little and little re-  
 lentted, and hauing gathered good es-  
 timacion & abundance of substaunce,  
 haue withdrawen them selues frome  
 paineful afaire, & at the last be to no  
 man but only to the selues profitable.  
 ¶ Whan any man had exercised his  
 office duly, vprightly, & circumspectly

## IMAGE OF

in the publyke weale, at the ende of his terme, whan there was a successour vnto hym beyng present appointed, then woulde he saye vnto hym that departed out of his offyce: The publike weale geueth to you right her tie thanks, than woulde he rewarde hym in such wyse, as beyng priuate, he mought accoꝝdyng to his degree, lyue the more honestly.

**T**his rewarde was in lande, cattel, hayles, grayne, yron, stone, and other thynges necessarie to bulde a commodious place, wherein after great trauaile about the weale publyke, he mought refreshe bothe his body and spirites: And euer after the emperor had hym in moſte tendre familiaritee.

The emperor  
cours dylis  
gence in  
knowyng  
mans qua-  
lities.

**T**erely in one thing he vsed an incomparable diligence, wherein he surmounted in myne oppynyon all other emperours. There was no man in dignitee or offyce, eyther by the assignement of the Senate, or by his commission, but that he knewe his person, and fourme of lyuyng. And that muche more is, he had in his chaunc

chaumbre billes conteinyng the numbre of theim, whiche were his souldiours in wages, and also euery one of theyr names, and what tyme they had serued. And whan he was by hym selfe quiete from great affayres, he perused the number of them, their dignitees, wages and fees, to the intent he woulde be for all occasions surely prouyded. And therfore whan he had any thyng to dooe with his souldiours, he named euery man in his communication: And whan they were presente, he called theym vnto hym. And whan he was solicited to promote any person, he marked his name, and than wolde he serche his bookes of remembrance, wherein were the names of them that hadde serued him, with the tyme of theyr seruice. Also theyr reward or promotion, and at whose requeste, or by whose sollicitacion they were promoted.

**I**n offices he seldome suffered to be any deputies, saying. They only shuld be aduanced which by them selues & not by deputies coulde order the publike weale, Adding thereto: that men

D b

of warre



## IMAGE OF

of warre had thep min' stracions, and learned men theirs, and accordynge therunto should roumes be disposed, that eury man should do that thing, wherof he had most knowlage. He had therfore wrytten what he had gyven, and that remembryng, if he found any man, to whom he had eyther gyven nothing, or that whiche in value was not equall vnto his merites: he called him, and sayde: what is the cause that thou askest nothyng of me? Desirest thou to haue me thy Detrouer? Aske somethat, that lackyng promotion, thou complayne not of me.

¶ He gaue alwaye suche thynges as impaired not his honour, as goodes, of men atteined, not beyng in golde or siluer: for that was alway put in the common treasourie.

¶ Also he gaue bailiwikes and rules of places ciuile, but neuer of war, excepte it were to theym, which were expert and approued true capitaynes.

¶ Receiuous he changed eury yere, and called them an euyl that needes must be suffered.

¶ As for chiefe iudges, p'p'consules, or lieues

## GOVERN

si

of lieutenantes, he gaue none of those  
rommes in rewarde, but by a deliberate  
iudgement eyther of him selfe or of the  
senate. Such was the wonderful and  
( as I mought say ) most curious cir-  
cumspccion of this excellent prince  
Alexander, which in mine opinion can  
not be by mans tounge sufficiently ex-  
tolled.

**C**Howe curious the emperor Alex-  
ander was in assigning of Iustices in  
his lawes, and how he vsed libera-  
ltee or Charpenesse towards the  
accoꝝdꝝng to theyꝝ merites.

### Capitulo. xviij.

**S**uche persons as he assigned to  
bee iudges in causes ciuile, he  
with good deliberacion & proufe,  
dydchose theim, whiche were beste  
lerned in the lawes, and were of mu-  
che auncientce, and therewith hauyng  
good grauitce, and were known to  
be sincere and of good conscience: and  
vnto them was appointed an hono-  
rable stipende: In so muche as to  
them that were iudges in prouinces,  
was geuen to euery of theym twentie  
100;

## IMAGE OF

Pardo 18. Romayne poundes of syluer, five lills  
 feigneth of uer pottes, two mules, two mulettes,  
 our vllall two horses, a horsekeeper and a mulet:  
 croles. 125 four, two robes or habites to sitte in  
 so the pr iudgement, one honourable garmene  
 pond amon to weare in his house, one for his  
 ted to. 111. baine or studie: Also a hundred pie  
 3 cord. 1111 ces of golde Moreover one cooke, and  
 s. 111. d of if they were vnmarrid, one concubine.  
 our money.

And after that they had left theyz ad-  
 ministracion, they shoulde yelde againe  
 the mules, mulettes, horses, mulets  
 four, and cookes, which at the said  
 time were found of the common trea-  
 sure, the residue they shoulde retereigne  
 syl, yf they had dooen well in theyz  
 offyce: And yf they had dooen euill,  
 they shulde pay the quattreble or four  
 tymes so muche as they receiued.

He neuer woulde suffer, that any  
 office, which had iurisdiction or exe-  
 cution of Justice, shoulde be sold or  
 obteigned by geuyng of money, or  
 any other rewarde. And therfore  
 where one of his most pryncie seruants  
 had promised to one, to obtaine of  
 the emperour for hym an office, whiche  
 he had ciuile iurisdiction or adminis-  
 tracion



## GOVERN.

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ministracion of Justice, and therefore had  
 taken a hundred pieces of golde. The  
 emperor commanded, that he shoulde  
 be hanged on a galouse openly in the  
 highe waye, wherin the emperours  
 seruauntes shoulde mosse often passe  
 to his manours, without the ciitie.  
 And whan Alpiant, one of the sage  
 men of his counsaile blamed his sen-  
 tence, as cruell and representing a  
 tyrannie, he patiently heard hym,  
 and answered immediately sayinge :  
 The residue of my maners declareth  
 me not to be furiose, or to take plea-  
 sure in crueltee, specially to theym  
 whom I fauour and haue nere a-  
 bout me. Se you not, what woymes  
 and flies wolde increase to consume  
 the graine and fruites of the earth, if  
 the pleasantnesse of the sprynge tyme  
 and begynnyng of sommer shoulde euer  
 continue : and the sharpe and terri-  
 ble wynter dyd not with his sharpe  
 frostes and bytter wyndes purge the  
 earth of suche euill increase : Who  
 knoweth not, that in all thyng that  
 is sweete, woymes be founden, whi-  
 che wyll soone consume all that they  
 breede.

## IMAGE OF

breede in, if it be not preserved by lating about it some thyng bitter or very vnflauery? If the auncient lawes of this citee iudgeth hym to dye, that spitefully pulleth downe or defyleth the emperours image, or counterfayteth his coygne, seale or sigue manuell: of how much congruence and more with iustice is it, that he should suffer death, whiche with selleng of the administracion of Justice, plucketh downe and defyleth amonge the people the good renoume of the emperour? or counterfaieteth and changeh the minde of the emperour, whiche is his veray image immortall, wherby bothe the prince and the people suffereth incomparable more damage than by forgeyng of money.

Doe not ye beyng so wise a man, consider, that he which byeth a thyng, may sell it? And for my parte whyle I lyue, I wyll neuer suffer any auctoritee to be vsed in merchandise.

For that which I suffer, I may not with mine honour condemne or prohibite. And I can not for shame punish a man for selleng that thyng  
that

that he heareth, Wherfore if ye consider euery thinge well, ye shall fynde no cause to blame me of crueltye, or resemble me to a tyranne.

¶ With these wordes Alpiane found hym selfe satisfied, and wonderynge at the emperours wysedome, ceased to speake any more againste hym in any semblable iudgement.

¶ When he made any ordinary iudges, aduocates, or proctours, he caused theym to be openly named, requyringe the people and geuyng theym courage, if there were cause to accuse them, to proue the crime by open witness. And he was wont to say, sence christen men and Jewes in the election of priestes, caused them to be in suche forme tried: it shulde be inconuenient, if the same were not vsed in the gouernours of countreys, vnto whom were committed bothe the lyues and substance of men that be vnder them. Forseene, if they did not sufficiently proue it, and that it semed to be malicious detraction, the accusour shuld forthwith be beheaded.



## IMAGE OF

**O**f the great care & diligence that  
Alexander vsed about the publike  
weale, and of certeyne newe of-  
ficers ordeyned by hym.

Capitulo. xviij.

**T**he householde seruauntes and  
counsaillours of the emperour  
beynge well tryed, and by his  
owne example brought in good orde:  
also the head officers, iudges, and all  
other that had auctoritee in the pu-  
lyke weale, beynge well chosen and  
instructed by the exemple of the em-  
perours counsellors: it was a wonder to  
beholde, with howe lyttle difficultee,  
and howe soone the residue of the  
weale publyke was brought into a  
good facion, all men despyrnyng in ver-  
tue, and praysynge the beautie and  
commoditee therof in theyr superiours.  
**A**lso reioysynge at the affabilitee  
and gentilnes of the noble emperour:  
and semblably dreedyng his seueritee,  
they brought at the last vertue in  
custome, wherby hapned, that suche  
vices as before seemed little, and were  
nothyng regarded, became to all men  
or at the least to the moze parte detestable

nable. In so much as the emperour  
needed not to sende forth any espiall  
to espie mens condicions. For suche  
as were euill were euery where no-  
ted, and of all men disdeigned. So  
that by theym it hapned, as it doeth  
by one that is sycke in a horte feuer,  
whiche fyrste abhorreth euery med-  
icine that the phisicion dooeth offer to  
geue hym: but whan he beholdeth the  
phisicion drynke any thyng thereof,  
than is he the better content to assay  
of the same: But by reason that his  
tast is corrupted, to him al thyng that  
is holsome, seemeth vnpleasant: be it  
neuer so delectable. Finally fearynge  
either to die, or to be compelled to re-  
ceiue a more greivouse medicine, he ta-  
keth the pocion by little and little, un-  
till at the last by custome of drinkyng  
therof, he hath brought that pocion  
to be as familiar and agreable unto  
his taste, as was his common and  
most vsuall drinke. And than dooeth  
he scorne bothe theim that wylfully  
wold die rather than they wold take  
medicine: and also them that be their  
keepers or rulers, whiche dooe suffer  
them

## IMAGE OF

theym to take onely that, which contenteth theyr appetite. Semblably dyd they, who by the emperours example, accustomed them selves to vertue and honestie, eschewing suche vices, which before they had haunted.

**H**owe the emperour Alexander dyd ordeine new officers in the weale publike, and what belonged to their auctorities, Ca. xix.

**N**owe let vs retourne vnto the emperour Alexander. When he perceiued that by the example of hym, and other great officers, the people began to apply and warred apte to receiue due reformation of the state of theyr luyng, he meruailously therat reioysynge, gaue hym selfe wholly to the restorynge of the publyke weale to his prynciate honour. Wherfore to the intent that nothyng shoulde escape vntoformed, he ordeined to bee in the citee, and also in the prouynces, many officers, some what more than before were accustomed to be, appoyntynge causes  
civile



civile and criminall to sundrie iurisdic-  
tions saipnge: Where one man  
hath many matters to orde of sun-  
drie effectes, it fareth with hym as  
it dooth with a mans stomake: for  
the stomake receiveth meates, dy-  
vers in qualities and effectes, whiche  
the all together can not bee by one  
mans nature duely concocte and di-  
gested. For some meates bee in ope-  
ration hotte, and be not apte but  
for a colde stomake: some contrarie-  
wise be verie colde, and in a colde  
stomake wyl never be boyled: other  
meates be of grosse and harde sub-  
stance, and requyre a stronge and  
mightie stomake to endue it: other  
be softe and delicate, and beyng to  
hastily digested, it nothyng profitech.  
Notwithstandinge any one of the  
sayde meates beyng in one stomake,  
are better prepared to digestion than  
many, considering the trouble that  
Nature muste have in the seperation  
of sundry qualities, that be in dy-  
vers meates, to prepare theym to  
theyr effectes, whereto they were orde-  
signed. And if the naturall heate in  
A U                      mans

## IMAGE OF

mans bodye be not therto sufficiente,  
that whiche is ordeyned for nourishing  
of lyfe, is conuerted to corruption of  
bloud and other humours, whiche is  
cause of sickenesse. But if any meate  
happē to come into the stomacke, whi-  
che meate is apt for his temperature,  
there shall he be perfectly concoct or  
boyled, and by a naturall digestion  
made apt for the nourishyng and pre-  
seruation of other membrs. Accord-  
yng to this similitude, yf one man  
beyng in auctoritie, whiche I resem-  
ble vnto the stomacke, be he neuer so  
well learned or wyse, yf he take vpon  
him the orderyng and discussyng of all  
maner causes, his witte, which is in  
the steede of nature, shall be therewith  
so muche incumbred, that beyng stu-  
dious or occupied about one matter,  
in the meane tyme an other is appay-  
red: and yf he leaue the fyrste, to re-  
forme the seconde or thirde, the first is  
than in worse case than he' founde it,  
the parties contendyng, beyng chaun-  
fed, and in a more feruent contencion.  
Or in a criminall cause the offenders  
beyng lefte vncorrected, puttynge all  
feare

feare apart, not onely doe perseuere,  
but also increase in theyr euyl doyn-  
ges. Finally where one man hath  
the depeachynge of many mattiers,  
none one of theim may be brought to  
a perfect conclusion. For as muche  
as to euery acte belongeth oportuni-  
tee, which can neuer be founde, where  
many mattiers be enterlaced, opor-  
tunitie beyng onely espyed by a vigi-  
lant and constant studie.

**C** Moreover where many men be in  
auctoritee, good wyttes shall not be  
hyd nor vntrewarded, and many shall  
applie theim to vertue and studie, vpon  
hope of preferment. And where  
as be many particular auctorities,  
there shall sundry matters be the soor-  
ner depeached. This was the saying  
of Alexander.

**C** And therfore by the consent of the  
senate and people, he ordeigned first  
accozdyng to the counsaile of Plato,  
certaine persons, whiche were named  
Conseruatours of the weale publyke:  
to whose offyce it apperteined to see,  
that the chyl dren of the Romaynes  
were well brought vp and instructed



## IMAGE OF

Accordinge to the capacitee of theyr  
wittes, from the age of seven yeeres  
vnto sixtene, and that in theyr places  
& recreation were nothing dishonest.

¶ Also that at certayne tymes ap-  
pointed, they were exercised in ry-  
dyng, if they were sons of gentilmen.

¶ Also they and the residue, were ex-  
ercised in swimming, renning, wast-  
lyng, and to occupie all weapons of  
warre.

¶ Semblable that the maydens dur-  
yng the sayde age, were brought vp  
in shamesfulleneſſe, humbleneſſe, and  
occupacion necessary for a houlwife.  
And that they were not ſerue out of  
theyr fathers houses, but onely in  
the temples, vnto the whiche women  
onely reſorted: and that in the com-  
pany of theyr mothers, or ſuche other  
as were in theyr places.

¶ Moreover it perteyned to the sayd  
Conſervatores, to controll euery houl-  
holder, of what eſtate or degree ſo e-  
uer he were, if there were founde any  
exceſſe in his fare, or that he had re-  
ſorte of riotous perſons: or that he  
kepte any more ſervantes than had  
tounes

townes in theyr houses, or in some necessarie busynesse were continually occupied.

¶ Also that no man, neyther in hym selfe, his wyfe, nor his seruauntes shoulde excede or in any parte chaunge the apparayle that by the lawes or the emperours ordinaunces had been prouyded.

¶ Moreover to se that no vitaylynge house, nor bordelhous shoulde haue theyr doozes open, or receiue any person, eyther befoze the sonne ryse, or after the sonne set: whiche was doon to the entent that euery man shoulde be knowen, that repayred to such places, and muche good hapned by that prouision.

¶ These Observatores were threescore Conserua-  
in noumbre, that is to say, for euery tours.  
tribe two, some being deuyded into  
thyrtye tribes, and thowse in the weke  
they assembled and dyd communicate  
suche defaultes as they hadde founde,  
den, and foorth with all they cer-  
tified to the prouost of the citee all  
the defaultes, reseruyng the e-  
ducacion of chyldren, whiche they  
J.iii. them

## IMAGE OF

theim selfe reformed by sharpe admonicion geuen to theyr parentes : whom yf they founde disobedient or negligent, they certified therof the senate, who caused the sayde parentes to be punished as enemies of the publicke weale of the citee. Theim

which offended in the other articles, the prouost of the citee punished, according to the statutes and ordinances in suche cases prouyded.

**Contracts.** The Pretours, Questors, and other lyke offices and auctorities he augmented in numbze, all be it, he deuised theyr iurisdiccions, to some he appointed onely contractes, in the which the woorde were comprehended all thynges, wherein bargayne or promise was conteyned : and that he caused to bee extremely examined and discussed by the sayde officers : and in whom was founden any deceipte or fayth broken, he without hope of any remission or pardon, was immediately beaten with whypes. Whiche was also the punishment of theym that had stolen priuily without any violence. The emperour sayinge:  
I has

**Decepte  
punished,**



That it was but a fantasie and a thynge to laught at, to make a difference betwene stealyng and disceipte or breakyng his bargaine, where it appereth to be no diuersitee, but onely that this hath truste and credence iopgned with it, and the other hath none, but a single iniurie. Wherefore in reason it is a lyghter offence, where, by the other meanes, not onely the thynge is gotten with as much iniustice, as yf it were stolen, but also **Fayth** called **Trust**, otherwoyse called **Truste**, which is the foundation of Iustyce, and consequentely of the publyke weale, is dissolued. And therefore it ought to bee reuenged with no lesse punishment then simple thefte.

**C** Surueyours for graine to the citee **Surueyours** he made of honest and diligent persons, and to them he assigned particular auditours, notwithstandinge at the ende of the yere, bothe the surueyours and auditours lefte theyr offices, and other were chosen.

**C** To them that were his bayliffes, Bayliffes, receiueurs, surueyours and other, that procured or gathered the reue:

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monies of his crowne, he gaue competent salaries: but he fauoured them not, calling them a necessary euill. Wherefore if he perceiued, that any of them had gathered muche rycheſſe, he wolde take all from them, ſaying, Let it ſuffice you, that ye haue taken ſo longe pleaſure with my goodes: and beware that ye take not from other men iniuſtly, leaſte ye make me more angry with you.

¶ All be it, if he perceiued any of them afterwarde to lyue vpryghtly, and to haue good wytte and lernyng, he aduanced them to ſome other courtes, wherewith they confeſſed theiſe ſeruiſe to be recompenced.

¶ Finally he neuer puniſhed anye man greuouſely for his owne particular cauſes, and the ſharpened that he vſed in puniſhyng offences agaynſt the weale publyke, whan his conſideracions were well examined and pondered, was thought by all wyſe men to be ryght expedient.

¶ To the prouoſt he ioygned. xlii. whiche had been Conſules, callinge them gouernours of the citee, commaundynge

maundyng theym to heare with the  
prouost, the assayres of the citie.

And that no sentence were geuen, nor  
acte made, but that they all, of the  
moze parte were therat present.

**T**he detestacio that Alexander had  
vnto idelnesse, and the vices thereof  
procedyng, and of dyuerse prouis-  
ions that he made against it.

Capitulo .xx.

**T**his most noble emperour was  
so rooted in vertue and feruent  
zeale towards the weale pub-  
like, that all vice was to him almost  
intollerable. And for as muche as he  
perceiued that idelnesse that is to say:  
Leasyng from necessary occupation  
of study, was the sinke, whiche recei-  
ued all the synkinge canelles of vice,  
whiche once beinge brimmed full, so-  
deinely renneth ouer through the ci-  
tie, and with his pestiferous ayle in-  
fecteth a great multitude of people as  
it may be stopped & cleansed. And that  
not withstanding, the people being  
ones



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ones corrupted with this pestilence, shall with great difficultee, and with longe tract of time be deliuered. And yet ere that shall be brought well to passe, a great part of the people shall perishe: whiche this wyse and vertuous emperour considerynge, and ha-uyng therof meruailouse care, to the entent to withdraue men from all excuses of idelnesse, he with an incomparable prudence ordeigned for euery estate some forme of exercise to be necessarily or vertuously occupied, beginning at the bale people or communers, whiche were mosse in nombie, and procedyng forth to euery other degree or condicion.

**Wile occupacion.**

**C** First, al vile occupation or labour, wherby nature mought be corrupted, or bodily strength decayed, he caused onely to be exercised by bondemen or straungers, that is to say, not beyng citisens,

**Testins of Rome.**

**C** Semblably, he wolde not suffer any citisen to bee a merchaunt aduenturer, nor to sell any thyng by retaille, that he him selfe wrought not, or were not made by his owne prouysyon, or

Audie

studie, saying: That the Romaines by traauiling into sundrie countreys, gathered and broughte into the citie with theyr merchandise, the vices of other people, whiche apprehended by other, (as the moze parte of men dooe delite in new fanglenesse) is the cause of moze damage to the publyke weale than an hundred tymes the value of the marchaundise maie be commodious.

Moreover findyng ones a delite to accumulate treasure, and desirynge to exceede one an other in richesse, they attende so much to theyr owne particular lucre, that they abandone all liberalitee, beneuolence and charitee, excepte it be very fewe.

Finally they bee neuer to the publike weale profitable. Also they that retayle that which is bought of the craftes man that worketh it, they not onely defraude other of the iust price, contrary to the direct order of equitee, but also to consume the time idelly, beyng not occupied neyther in bodely exercise, nor in vertuous or commodious studie, Therfoze to such  
practise

## IMAGE OF

practise of mistery, he admitted onely straungers. And also to bring out of other countreys, and to sel to the citelins all such thynges as there of was none growynge in Italy, or not in sufficient quantitee, as wolles, mettall and sylke. Forseene that none of it were brought in any place out of Italy. And of suche straungers it was lesfull to the Romaines, to be in grosse, and retayle. All be it there shoulde no moe retayle than were appoynted by the Senate: and those also shoulde be examuned and assigned by the prouost of the citee and suche as were to hym associate. And the sayde merchaunt straungers were by the emperours commaundement very courteisely enterreyned, and so were all other straungers, whiche repaired to the citee, to by there any thyng, or els to practise any excellent connyng or crafte, and were exonerate of all charges for the warres, excepte it were onely for the defence of the citee. But of theym he suffered to be but a certaine numbze, whiche was not lawfull for theym to ex-  
ceede



cedde. And vnto them were assigned of the Romaynes certayne iudges and officers, which yerely also were changed. But nowe to treate how he kept the people from idelnesse.

¶ First he prouided that where there was not any artificer or crafte necessarie, but that it mought be founde within the citie, which he ordeed in this wise.

¶ He knewe euery yere ones by the officers called Censores, howe much people were dwellinge in the citie of euery age.

¶ Also by theym whiche were called Ediles, how many householdes there were of euery crafte. Than wolde he diligently enserche, of what perfection theyr woorkes were, wherein they were occupied: and if he founde therein much lacke, so that the buyers shuld suffer detriment, than enioined he the seller thereof that he shoulde no more worke to sale, vntyll he were instructed more perfectly. Notwithstanding that person was compelled to worke vnder an other man, whiche was more perfect, vntyll his  
worke

## IMAGE OF

woorke were commended.

**T**he moreouer he ordeined, that after the children of the comuners coulde write and reade perfectly, they were sette to some artifice or crafte. But if within one yere it appered, that they were vnapt therunto, or that it were muche contrariouse to theyr nature: than the Conseruatoours examinyng as muche as they coulde, to what craft or science necessary theyr wyttes were moste apte, vnto that shoulde they forthwith be sette, to learne of them which were good workemen. And therefore he gotte out of all partes of the empyre the moste cunning and perfect craftesmen in euery science to dwell in the citee, not only compellyng them by his auctoritee, but allurynge theym with yerely stipendes of grayne, to the fyndyng of their householdes, and also to be free from all maner craccions in peace or warre, to instruct in theyr craftes perfectly the youth of the citee.

**T**he craftes, which he wolde that the more parte of Romaines shoulde occupie, were those, wherein both the  
bodye

bodie and witte mought be exercised, whiche he sayd pertained to men that were free of condicion: other occupacions, wherein was bodily labour onely, he said was for bondmen and beastes. And therefore within the territorie of the citee of Rome, and in the manours and fermes of the gentylmen Romaines, he ordeined, that bailiffes and surueyours of husbandrye shoulde be freemen and citelins, and that the ploughmen and labourers shoulde be bondemen and straungers, In other citees besydes Rome, some of these thynges were chaunged after the necessitee and nature of the people, wherein this emperour alway had a meruailouse consideration.

¶ After this diligent prouision, if any one of the people had been founde idell by the space of one whole day, except in feastfull dayes and other tymes of solace appoynted, he was forthwith examined, and hauing no leeffull and approued excuse, he was first whynned, and after by the Conservatours committed to one of the craftes, that he was of, and for euery  
day



## IMAGE OF

day that he was openly seene to be sold, the persone, unto whom he was committed, shoulde for a moneth see hym to any labour that he list, as his slave or bondeman, geuyng to hym meate and drynke onely. And it was not to any other man leefull, during that tyme, to geue hym meate or drynke, or to speake with him, otherwyle than to rebuke hym. And after the sayd correction, the sayd Conservatours shoulde see that he were bestowed where he mought worke with a competent lvyng.

The semblable ordre was diligently, and (as I mought saye) exactly kepte by the emperours streicte commaundment, bothe in Grece and Italy. And where execution any tyme fayled, or was neglected, the officers were deposed with open reproch, and forfeiture of the thyrd part of theyr substance: whiche was employed immediately on grayne, and distributed equally and freely amonge the people well occupied, within the ciitee of towne where suche thyng hapned. And with great difficultee the sayde officers

officer in such a wise deposed, could  
 euer after obteyne of the emperour,  
 to come in auctorite. By the feare  
 wherof, and the sayd distribucion vn-  
 to the people, this ordinance was ne-  
 uer omitted, during the lyfe of Alex-  
 ander. Wherfore it was a wonder  
 to beholde, how suddenly idelnesse  
 was euery where excluded, and cun-  
 ning in euery occupation augmented.

Of baines and places of exercises,  
 made for the people of Rome, by  
 the emperour Alexander.

Capitulum. xxi.

**M**oreouer to the intent the peo-  
 ple shoulde not be to muche fas-  
 tigate with continuall labour,  
 wherby theyr bodies shoulde become  
 decrepite and vnapt to the warres,  
 he not onely amended and enlarged  
 the gooder bathes made by dyuers em-  
 perours and prynces before hym,  
 wherein the people of Rome accus-  
 tomed to refresh & make cleane theyr  
 bodies, but also made newe bathes  
 more pleasaunt and sumptuous, toy-  
 nyng them to those that were made  
 by As-

## IMAGE OF

by Nero the emperour, conueighyng  
into them water naturally hott, ren-  
nyng by conduites of marble from  
mountaines in Naples, by the space  
of .200. miles from the citee of Rome.  
And also he brought into some partes  
of the baines colde water from the  
most pure and delectable sprynges:  
the people to vse the one or the other  
at theyr owne pleasures.

Places of  
exercyse.

Moreover he bought certayne hou-  
ses, whiche stode nyghe to the sayde  
baine, and caused them to be pulled  
downe, and that place he made to be  
leuelled, and to be sette with younge  
trees in the most pleasaunt facion, ha-  
uyng there large places, wherein the  
people after they wer bained, mought  
renne, leape, or wastle, or vse any o-  
ther semblable exercise: to the whi-  
che places the sayd trees gave a com-  
modious and pleasaunt vmbage.  
And in the wastlyng places the  
grounde was thicke couered with ca-  
mamile, *Origanum*, and other lyke gras-  
ses, bothe swete in sauour and soft  
to fall vpon. Also the sayde empe-  
rour muche delited in the beholdyng  
of the



of the sayde exercises. Wherfoze it was the moste parte of his pastime or solace, to see the people exercised in fourme aforesayde, or els the gentilemen to assay theim selfe in fourme of battaile, as hereafter shalbe declared.

¶ To the sayde bailes and places of exercise were assigned a number of keepers and ministers, to whom were geuen sufficient salaries. And those places were alway kept so nete and delectable, that to the eyes or nose, was neuer any thyng vnpleasaunt or noyfull: by the whiche cleanness the Citie was meruailously preserved from sundry sickenneses, whiche vndoubtedly dooe growe of corrupt exhalacions, ventynge out of mens bodyes. And for that cause to auoyde occasion of pestilence and other horrible diseases, this emperour prohibited by speciall lawes, ingurgitations, bankettes, late suppers and longe. Moreover causynge the controllors of markettes (of whom there were diuers) whiche were euery yere chosen of speciall honest men, and not auaricious or needy, to haue

Corrupt  
salaries.

## IMAGE OF

**Bitayles.** A bigilant eye on the market, that not  
onely bitayles were solde by a due  
weyght and measure, and at prices  
sette by the senate, but also that they  
were not in any parte corrupted in  
fauour or substance, and that no such  
thyng were solde for bitayle, wherein  
any poyson naturally mought be in-  
gendred and hydde, as muskeromes  
frogges, and other lyke thinges, sold:  
Deu out rather by wanton appetites,  
than by nature ingendred to serue  
for mans sustinaunce: And in these  
thynges, yf any lacke were perceiued  
to be, the emperour and senate with a  
diligent scrutinie founde out the per-  
son, by whose defaute it happened,  
with also the controller, whiche seem-  
ed to be neglygent. And the seller  
was accordyng to the lawes sharply  
punished. The controller or other of-  
ficer, if there were founden in hym  
negligence, was with great rebukes  
expelled from his office, and had the  
fifth parte of his mouable gooddes  
confiscate: whiche beyng brought in  
to money, and bestowed on wheate,  
was distributed amouge the people,  
whiche

# GOVERN. 65

whiche dwelled in that parte of the citee, where the offence was committed.

¶ It is here to be considered, that suche summes as were forsayed by corrupt or negligent officers, came neuer to the vse of the emperour, nor he gaue them to any person: but employing it on cozne, he caused it to be distributed amonge the people. Which

in myne opinion was a meruailouse policie. For therby he declared, that he vsed seueritee, not for his owne particular aduantage.

for sayes  
tunes in  
ploped.

And also the people, whiche suffered detrimēt by the lacke of the officers, receiued the benefite of that whiche was forsayed: whiche caused a multitude to lie alway in a wayte to finde some misdeemeanour in the officers, to the intent they mought therby be the better relieved. And the officers at the laste became meruailouse circumspect.

And finally the prince for his wysedome and charitee not onely praised, but also as an vniuersall father of all his people was more entierly beloved,



## IMAGE OF

**T**ouchyng suche persones as were in extreme povertee, and eyther by greivouse sicknesse or feeble age, were decrepite, or otherwise not able to labour, I wyll after the next chapitre declare the incomparable prudence of this excellent emperour.

**O**f the magnificence of the emperour Alexander in sumptuous and necessary workes, and in what exercises he caused the nobilitie and gentlemen of Rome to be occupied. Capi. xxi.

**B**esides the baines, which I late remembred, made in the citie of Rome, Alexander made also in every realme beyng subiect to the empire of Rome, common baines: he also made great and stronge barnes in many citiees, for the people to kepe in theyr private stuffe and gooddes, suche as had not of theyr owne private houses of sufficient strength for that purpose. He made also manie faire houses and mansion places, whiche immediately he gave to his frendes, whom he perceived to bee moste

Barnes.

moste trustie and honest. In a place called *Balanum*, he made woozkes magnifike or sumptuouse, garnished with images of theym whiche were ioigned to hym by any affinitee.

¶ He made meres and pooles to bee wondered at, bringyng the sea vnto theym, and causing them to be replenished with straunge and principall fylshes. Also he edified great and wonderfull bridges, and repaired all theim whiche were made by Traiane, leaupnge notwithstandinge to Traiane the name and honour therof.

¶ In the market place of *Marcus*, he sette vp great images of the moste noble emperours, some on foote, and some on horsebacke, with theyr titles ouer theyr heades, and betwene euery image a great pyller of braffe conteynyng all theyr gestes and actes woorthy remembraunce.

¶ He made also a Basilike, or place, where ciuile controuerxies were herde and iudged, whiche conteigned in bredth an. 100. feete, and in length a thousande: and stode all vppon pillars of *Porpherie*, whiche is a stone of  
Is v
purple

*Meres & pooles.*

*Images.*

*Basilike.*

*Porpherie*

## IMAGE OF

purple colour : and the pillars were garnished with images of noble princes, Grekes and Romaines, wrought in pure whyte marble, with theyr names ouer theyr heades : and vnder theyr feete theyr actes wrought also in veraie small images of copper in most liuely and quicke demonstraci- on. But in one kynde of magnifi- cence he passed all other. For where diuerse citees by earth quakes hadde ben crushed, and therewith desol- med, he of the reuenues of the same countreys, gaue great summes of mo- ney to the reedifying of theym. And many he restorred to their pri- uinate beaultie and strength, diuerse he made more substanciall and sure.

Townes  
repayed.

¶ There was no towne of reputa- on in his tyme decayed, but that he caused the occasion therof to be ser- ched for, & to be forthwith reformed.

Harbours.

¶ The harbours of Italy and Sicile, he caused not onely to be clen- sed and repaired, but also to be made more stronger, to defende outward hostile- ties.

¶ Moreover for the exerceise of them, whiche



whiche were aboute the estate of the common people, he repayred and newe made many places and thynges necessarie whiche is expedient to be put in remembraunce.

¶ After he vjsyted all the libraries that were in the cite: And where he founde any bookes deformed eyther with auncientee or by negligent keeping, or by any other meanes, he caused them to be newe written and laide in theyr places, and the howses to be not onely clenched, but also made more ornate and necessarie: As makynge for every booke an huche locked, to the intent that whan any man came to studie there, he shoulde haue no more booke to loken on, then one of the keepers of the librarie (whereof there were a good numbre receyved to geue theyr attendaunce, haupnge therfore competent salaries) shoulde deliuer vnto them. And befoze they departed, the sayde keeper shoulde peruse the leaues of the bookes, that they looked in, to thintent that if they dyd cut or rent any out of the volume, they shoulde be apprehended, and by the officers  
called

Libraries  
Bookes.

## IMAGE OF

called Ediles, committed vnto prison,  
and there shoulde remaine untill they  
had repaired sufficiently the bookes  
that they had defaced, and also cau:  
sed an other like booke to be written,  
and bestowed in the sayde librarie.

And yf any suche person had escaped  
by negligence or fauour of the keeper,  
and the defaulte founden by some o:  
ther, the keeper was expelled from his  
office without hope of remission, and  
was also compelled to redoubte the  
harne in lykewyse as he shoulde haue  
doen, which committed the offence, if  
he immediatly had ben apprehended.

¶ He made also a new librarie, gar:  
nishing it as well with moste princi:  
pall woozkes in euery science, as also  
with the images of the authours,  
brought most excellently bothe in im:  
bosed woozke and portraiture: whic:  
he librarie was deuinded into sundry  
galleries, accordyng to diuerse scienc:  
ces, all builded rounde in the fourme  
of a circle, and beyng separate with  
walles one from an other: And in  
that porcion that belonged to Geo:  
metrie and Astronomie, were about  
the

Peincture.

the walles great chartes and tables,  
 conteynnyng sundry lynes, figures,  
 descriptions, dimensions, or measu-  
 rynges, conuersions of sterres, moc-  
 ons, and reuolutions of planettes,  
 spheres and imaginarie circles, with  
 also materiall spheres, quadyantes,  
 Astrolabes, and all other instrumen-  
 tes belongynge to those sciences.

¶ Semblable tables wer in that por-  
 tion, that pertained to Arithmerike  
 and musicke, conteynnyng the sundrie  
 proportions of nymbres and tunes,  
 and thereto was added harpes, lutes,  
 organes softe in soundyng. For all  
 instrumentes that were lowde and  
 made greate noyse, were excluded  
 thence, the cause appeareth to wyle  
 readers.

¶ The place whiche was compassed  
 about with the sayde libraries, was  
 also rounde, and decked with pleas-  
 saunt imagerie, and haupnge seates  
 commodiously about it: where they  
 that came to studie in the libraries,  
 mought walke or sitte at theyr pleas-  
 sure, and communicate eche with or  
 ther that wh. ch they had read or per-  
 ceined



## IMAGE OF

refused. And to these places there sayd  
led not to come dayly a great numbre  
of gentlemen.

Place of  
palace.

For other necessarie exercise, the  
emperour inclosed with a hygh wall,  
a grounde toignynge to his owne pa-  
laice, conteigning in circuite one Ita-  
lien myle and a halfe, whiche within  
the wall was inuironed with a gale-  
ry of thre heighes, for men to stand  
in and beholde, which galleries were  
also of stone. And in the space that  
two men mought stande & talke, there  
was a small piller of marble, decked  
with images of menne that deserved  
noble remembraunce. The place  
was deuyded of sette out with many  
large alais, plaine & strepght, con-  
teigning in bredth one hundred feete,  
and in length one thousande feete.

Those alais were flored with plai-  
ster, and the residue was thicke  
spread with fine grasse and camomil,  
hauing here and there bankes for men  
to rest them when they were wepy.

The yonge gentlemen of the citee,  
whan they repayred to the palaice to  
geue theyr attendaunce, they in the  
meane

meane tyme that the emperour was in preparpung him forwarde, exercised them selves, some in the sayd alayes, in rennyng or castynge the ball, some in the greene places wasselyng, leapyng, and castynge of the darte. And in the galleries stode other of the nobilitie and gentlemen, suche as listed to beholde them.

¶ And without the walles were great and hygh trees of cipresse and fyete, with blyde toppes, conueighed thither with great industry: whiche trees dyd cast ouer the walles a pleasant vmbage or shadowe, and defended them that did exercise from the vehement heate of the sonne beames. And also in wynter kepte the place more mylde and temperate, in resoluyng or breakyng the violent and colde blastes of the Northerne and Westerne wyndes.

¶ Oftentymes the emperour him selfe delpyed to come and beholde the sayd exercises: but in his owne persone he neuer exercised hym selfe but priuily, and a fewe being present, to the intent that if he were banquished in any feate

## IMAGE OF

feate (as sometyme it happened, although fewe men surmounted hym in strength and destuerneſſe) he woulde not geue occasion to be diſpraiſed, and had in contempt of his ſubiectes.

¶ Whan by extreme heate in the ſommer, or by rayne and other vehement tempeſtes of wynter, the ſayde exerciſes mought not bee vſed: than the younge gentilmen repayed ſome to the ſayde libraries, and paſſed the time veruouſely in reading, writing or playinge on instrumentes: diuerſe haunted the ſcholes of philoſophers, rethoricians, and poetes (of the whiche ſorte there were at that tyme in Rome a great numbꝛe) and hearde them eyther recite theyꝛ owne woorkes, or expounde other old authours. Many wolde reſorte to the common houſes called *Theatres*, and purpoſing ſome matter of philoſophy, wold there diſpue openly. Other wolde pike out of ſome auncient ſtoꝛie ſome queſtion concernyng martial or ciuile policie, and in commendyng or diſcommendyng it, declare their opinions and ſentences in the ſourme of a conſultas



sultacion : Whiche exercise was of no little importance to the increace of witte and prouision of counsaylours. And at suche exercise the Emperour principally delýred to be present in his owne persone, as well to haue knowlage of other mens wittes and towardnes, as also to gather of their reasons some sentence or matter, whiche beeyng kepte in remembraunce, mought perchaunce profyte hym in matter moze serious or ernest occasion.

¶ Besides these persons, there failed not to be some, moze genen to playe than to studie, which also had a faire and large place in the palaice, where they played at the chesse and other lyke games, wherein they mought be pleasantly occupied, wherein the winnyng was neyther golde nor siluer, but onely victorie and commendacion of witte and diligence. Notwithstandyng it was lecfull for them at suche games to play for money, so it exceeded not a summe certaine, which was assessed by theemperour & senate. At dice it was not to any man lecfull

## IMAGE OF

to playe : The emperour hauyng this  
 sentence alwaye in his mouth. Our  
 > forefathers trusted in wisdome and  
 > prowesse, & not in fortune : & despyred  
 > victorie for renoume & honour, & not  
 > for money : And that game is to be ab-  
 > horred, wherein wit sleepeth, and idel-  
 > nesse with couetise is onely learned.

And for the mortall hate and indigna-  
 cion, that he bare to this losse of time,  
 (for so ought it rather to bee called,  
 thā a play) he made a law, which was  
 ratified by the auctoritee of all the se-  
 nate & people, That if any man were  
 found playing at dice, he should be ta-  
 ken for frantike, or as a foole natu-  
 rall, whiche coulde not well gouerne  
 him selfe : and his goodes and landes  
 should be committed to sage & discrete  
 personages, appointed by the whole  
 senate, which imploying on him that,  
 which was thought necessarie for his  
 estate and degree, shoulde byyng truly  
 ly that whiche remained to the com-  
 mon treasury: to the intent that when  
 he retourned to thysite, or was seene  
 by a good space of yeres, to vse good  
 husbandrye, In employing well and  
 honestly

Dice play-  
 ing.

honestly that porcion that he had, he shoulde be eftsoones restozed as well to his landes and gooddes, as to the reuenues and profittes, that were growen in the meane tyme, whyle they were confiscate, oz in the rule of his tutors.

¶ Finally nexte to theues and extor: Dice players cioners the emperour most hated them, <sup>cro.</sup> whiche after the sayde lawe beeynge made, were found to be dice players, and would not haue any of them cal: led eyther to office oz counsaile.

¶ Of hospitailes and other prouision made by Alexander for men that were decrepite, oz so diseased, that they could not labour.

Capitulo. xxiii.

**O**n a tyme the emperour Alexander visiting all partes of the citee of Rome, to beholde how the temples and other solempne edifices were kepte and repayred, in passyng through the streetes he beheld a great noumbre of persons, some defaced with horrible diseases, and some mutilate of theyr members, as lac-  
A u
kyng



## IMAGE OF

kynges armes or legges, or the necessa-  
rie vse of the one or the other, which  
he considering with a seuerer & graue  
countenance, at the last saide to a no-  
ble man called Julius Frontinus,  
who at that tyme was Pretor or go-  
uernour of the citee vnder the Emper-  
our: What sort of people be these,  
whiche beyng horryble and noious to  
beholde. dooe seeme vnprofitable to  
the weale publyke, sens they can not  
laboure, but consume those thynges,  
whiche are ordeigned for them that  
can defende the weale publike and vs  
whan occasion requireth? Than aun-  
swered Frontinus.

¶ Sir, they be your naturall subiec-  
tes, wherof part be depriued of their  
membres by chance of warre, wherein  
they haue serued you and your noble  
progenitours Emperours of Rome:  
some do lacke the office of their mem-  
bres, by naturall infirmities: the  
residue, whiche to your maiestie, and  
al other semeth to be an horrible spec-  
table, are men attached with gre-  
uous sickeneses, whiche dooe hap-  
pen to them (as phisicians doth say)  
by

by the putrification of naturall humours. And wherof (sayd the Emperour) procedeth suche putrification of humours, suppose you? Truly (sayde Frontinus) as I haue redde and hearde saye, it commeth of one of these causes, eyther for as muche as great abundaunce of superfluous humours, thicke and clammye, be dispersed in the bodie, whereby the pores (whiche are little hooles in the skinne throughout all the bodie, that be inuisible) be stopped: so that the exhalacion or breathe inclosed in the bodie, maye not issue out by the same pores: Whereunto a straunge or vnaturall heate beyng ioygned, maketh the sayde putrification. Sometyme it happeneth of meates or drinkes, beyng corrupted ere they be receiued. Sometyme where as well the ayre as the bodies of men be distempred. Also it hapneth sometyme by the wrath of god, where he is offended or neglected in suche duitie as belongeth vnto hym, as it hath been perceiued oftentimes in this citee, and declared by prophetes.

## IMAGE OF

**T**he haue answered right well (saide the emperour) vnto my demaunde. But yet for as muche as I suppose, that ye call them superfluous humours, whiche are more than conuenient to the naturall propozcion and temperature of the body, wherein they be, I pray you tell me, if ye can, wherof commeth that superfluous abundance, and by what occasion dooe they become thicke and clammy, wherby the pores (as ye say) be stopped. Truly, sayde Frontine, as I haue hearde of phisicians, and also dayly experience and reason declareth, it procedeth of replecion and idelnesse, that is to saye, by eatyng immoderately aboue that whiche naturall heate maye concocte in the stomacke, also ingorgeyng meate vppon meate, ere that meate, whiche was fyrste eaten, be fully digested: also by not bysying competent exercise, wherby nature is comforted, and preparerth hys selfe to labour about the concoctyng and digestyng of that, whiche the body receiuerth.

**T**he haue now satisfied me (sayde  
the



the emperour) & well to the purpose.  
**N**ow beholde (sayde he) from the  
 honourable father, what a pernici-  
 ous negligence was in our predeces-  
 sours emperours, besydes the y<sup>e</sup> ex-  
 ample of diuers of theim, which haue  
 lyke ill tutours, suffered the people of  
 Rome theyr pupilles so many yeres,  
 dayly to consume them selues by ly-  
 cence in lypung, whiche hath brought  
 into the citee suche horrible sicknesse,  
 which I wyll prouide to expel thens,  
 if it be possible.

**T**he next day folowynge he assem-  
 bled his counsaile, which (as I saide  
 before) was of fiftie reuerende persoz  
 nages: to whom he declared the com-  
 municacion betwene hym and Fron-  
 tine, who at that tyme was present,  
 beyng one of the counsaylours, affir-  
 myng that he was fully determyned,  
 as well to prouide for theim, whiche  
 eyther were attached with the sayde  
 horrible sickneses, and for those whi-  
 che were by warres for the weale pub-  
 like mutulate in theyr membles, or  
 maimed, as also to put cleane away,  
 or at the leaste way to minishe the ori-

## IMAGE OF

ginall occasions of the sayde sicknesses. Whiche noble enterprise beyng of all theim that herde hym commended: finally it was thought expedient by the noble emperour, and by all his sayde counsaile approued, that within the citee of Rome shoulde be two saye and large hospitalles builded, to receiue and kepe them, which were so mactulate or maymed in the warres, that they coulde not exercise themselfes in manuell occupation (for all other labours were dooen by captiues, bondemen, and slaues, and the Romaines were thereof discharged.) Also without the citee in some village nigh to it, wherby passed some riuier, shoulde also be edified two othet hospitalles, ample and necessarie for fife hundred sicke persones, vnto whom shoulde be appointed fife phisitions, substantially learned in phisike, and well experienced. Also fife expert surgeons, with two apotecaries, men of good credence and trust, whiche shoulde be bounden to haue alway all necessary drougges, vigorous in theyr force and vertue, without sophist

sophisticacion of other deceite in simples of compoundes. Also that they shoulde burne of utterly reiecte all thynges, whiche were eyther corrupted, or so dried, that it shoulde seeme to the physicians (who shoulde as oft as they lyst examine the wares) to be noyouse, or to medicine vnprofitable.

¶ The meate whiche was ordeygned for these sicke persons, shoulde be so litell in quantitee, that it was lesse than sufficient for any whole person.

¶ And whan it was asked of the emperour, why he would that they shuld haue so litte a pitaunce, he answered merily, that he did it for thre specis: all consideracions.

¶ The first was, that he had redde in the booke of Galene, the moste excellent physician, that the more one nourished bodiees vncleane, and not sufficiently purged, the more he did hurt them.

¶ Also if the meate were more than the sicke men coulde eate, the ministers about theim would sel that whiche was left: and whan they had gathered thereby muche money, eyther

I b

they



## IMAGE OF

they wolde liue therewith riottously,  
and neglecte theyr duties in attend-  
yng the sicke folke, or els with that  
gaine proude for them selves, some  
more welthy and easly lyuyng: so that  
in conclusion, the sicke people should  
be destitute of conueniente ministers  
to abyte on them.

**T**he thyrde consyderacion was,  
that yf the sicke men had abundaunce  
of good meate, many of them remem-  
bryng, that whan they were whole,  
they shoulde be constrained to some  
occupacion, and that they should not  
than eate so muche meate and soo  
good, as they eate in the hospitall,  
where they lay well at rest. Where-  
fore perchauce whan they were  
whole, they would fynde the meanes  
to fall eftsoones in theyr sayde sick-  
nesse or other lyke, that they mought  
be brought agayne to the hospitall.

**S**uche miserable nature remain-  
eth in some men, that to lyue idelly  
and voluptuously, they wyl choose  
rather to be sicke than to be healed.

**T**hese allegacions of the wise em-  
perour was than confirmed by dy-  
uerse,

werse, whiche had knowen it by long experience. Concerning them whiche were mutulate or maymed in warres for the weale publyke, they shoulde haue a moze plentious entertainment, if he were in pouertee or lacked friendes. But they whiche were not in that necessitee, shoulde haue appointed by the Senate and the emperours consent, an honest propozcion in corne and wine, to spende in theyr owne houses, as a thankfull remembrance of the Senate and people for theyr good endeouore whyles they were able.

¶ Moreover to prouyde for tyme to come, that is to saye, that the causes befoze remembred, whereof the sayde horrible sickeneses proceded, he affirmed, that the beste and mozte sure meane was to pacyfie the ire of god, and to make him beniuolent vnto the people, whiche shoulde be mozte assuredly doon, by excludynge horrible vices and abhominacions out of the citee, and to honour god purely. As for the disposicion of mens bodies, made apte by surfettes and idelnesse  
to receiue

## IMAGE OF

to receiue corruption, and consequently horrible sickenneses, he determined to make an Edict or imperiall ordinaunce, confirmed by an acte of the Senate, that no man shoulde be more than two meales in one day, and that there shoulde be at the least, fyre houres betwene euery meale. Also that the Censors or correctours of maners, shoulde take diligent heede, that yf they founde, or were informed, that any man of the comminaltee went to his meale, before he had wrought sufficiently in some occupation, that the same Censors shoulde cause hym to bee apprehended and kepte in some pryson, by the space of thre dayes, hauynge but ones in the daye onely, one ounce of breade, and a little water, without any other nourishment: the Emperour here recersyng a prouerbe, whereof he had hearde parte of the Christen men: Let him eate that laboureth, for he that laboureth not, is not worthy that thing that he eateth. And suche as mought not be withdrawen from idelnesse, he woulde haue them sent into Spaine, to digge



to digge for golde : or into the illes  
called Cassiterides, to labour in synne  
woorkes. And if within a while they  
laboured well without coercion or  
grutchyng, those shoulde be reuoked  
into the citee, there to applie diligent-  
ly theyr occupacion.

¶ He woulde also that the common  
people shoulde not haue at one meale,  
but one kynde of fleshe or fische, and  
that shoulde not be eyther delicate, or  
in great quantitee. And yf any man  
were founde dooyng otherwyse, he  
shoulde forsaite to the common trea-  
sourie double the value of the meate,  
whiche he had for that meale prouy-  
ded. And that no gentelman shoulde  
haue moe than thre sundry dysches at  
one meale, besydes fruite : nor any  
Senatour aboue foure diuers dysches,  
and one kynde of fruite yf he lyst.

Which numbze he him selfe dyd not  
excede, althoughe no lawe did thereto  
compell hym. He woulde not that a-  
ny citsen shuld resort to open tauerne,  
but that euery man shoulde haue his  
prouysion in his owne house. And  
that tauerneers and common Cookes  
shoulde

## IMAGE OF

Shoulde serue onely for theym, whiche dwelled out of the citie, and came thither for some necessarie businesse.

And if any citizein were founde in rauerne eatyng or drynkyng, he shoulde be sent for to the Censors, & be sharply rebuked: At the seconde tyme, excluded out of all assemblies, and noted ever after as a manne out of credence or possibilitie to any preferment. At the thirde tyme, he shoulde be sent to the mines, and there remaine, vntyll he seemed to haue amended his maners.

¶ A gentelman shoulde be at the first tyme rebuked. At the seconde tyme, lose the name of a gentelman, and be reckened amonge the base people.

The thirde tyme his gooddes shoulde be committed to a tutour, whereof he shoulde haue no porcion, vntill it were well perceiued, that he had utterly lefte resortyng to tauernes.

¶ A senatour, beyng founde in suche places, shoulde incontinentely be discharged out of the senate: beyng (durynge his lyfe) without hope to be therto restored,

Whan

¶ When the emperour Alexander had concluded these thynges with his owne counsaylours, he soone after came into the senate, and there recited in an eloquent and sobye oracion, the sayde articles, declarynge, what feruent desyre he had to saue the people of Rome, not onely against outward hostilitie, but also against inward perylls and consumption of theyr bodies by horrible sickenneses: whiche oracion finished, all the senate with teares in theyr eyes for gladde-nes, in the name of thaim selves and the people, rendred most hertie thanks to the emperours maiestee. And forthwith without any exception or mislikyng of any one thing, they confirmed it by an acte of the Senate.

And the nexte daye the Tribunes assembled the people, and declared to theym all that preceded: which they so ioyously hearde and receiued, that they ratified it with their common consentes, with these acclamacions.

Noble Alexander, we pray the gods, that thei haue no lesse care of your maiestee thā ye haue for vs, Make happy be we that



## IMAGE OF

that we haue you among vs. Noble Alexander, the gods preserve you, the gods defend you, proceede forth in your purpose. We ought to loue you as our father, to honour you as our lord, to meruaile at you as a god here liuing among vs. Thereto they added. Noble emperor, take what ye wil of our treasure and substance to accomplishe your purpose.

The emperor heiring of this liberal offer, caused to be answered in his behalfe, by Frontine his Pricior. The emperor thanketh you, but nothing will he charge you with, touching the building & furnishing of the said. iii. hospitals, for he wyll dooe it of his owne treasure: only two thinges he requirith of you, which shal not be burdensome to you. First, - that ye ceasse not to pursue & obey continually al the saide statutes and ordinaunces. The seconde, that ye wyll be content, that suche common reuenues, which seeme to him vaineely employed, & against the weale publike, may without any grutchyng of your parte, be layde to the maintenance of the said hospitalles.

Therat

**T**hereat all the people eftsoones  
 with one voice cried: Doe noble em-  
 perour what shall seeme to you good,  
 for your moste blessed nature can not  
 erre or doe amisse any thyng that ye  
 purpose. Hereat the emperour reioy-  
 syng, & remembryng that longe tyme  
 before he thought that the plaies cal-  
 led Flores & Supercalles, and the ab-  
 hominable ceremonies of Isis (in the  
 which) were shewed by men and womē  
 naked most abhominable motions and  
 tokens of lecherie) were prouokers  
 and nourishers of beastly vyce: he  
 therfore by the consent of the senate,  
 abolyshed the sayde playes and cere-  
 monies: And the reuenues, which  
 belonged to the maintenance of them,  
 beyng very great, he appoynted to  
 laye them vnto the sayde hospitalles,  
 with some parte of his owne posses-  
 sions, which he had purchased.

**F**inally the sayd foure hospitalles  
 within the space of one yere were bu-  
 ilded on the ryuer of Tyber, in the  
 most ample and magnifike facion: so  
 that all the chaumbres of the sycke  
 people were so made, that the floores

## IMAGE OF

of thelm were tenne feete above the  
grounde, and distant one from an o-  
ther thwentic feete, every chambze ha-  
uynge his baine, and freshe water con-  
ueighed into every one of theim by a  
cundite, they places of casement o-  
uer the ryuer, the wyndowes lying  
noyth and noytheast, the floozes of  
great thicke planks close ioyned.  
In the nether floze were the sellers,  
larders, wardropes, and suche other  
offices. At the southe syde were like  
many chambzes, the wyndowes ope-  
ned towarde the noythe: the kitchins  
and lodgynge of officers and mini-  
sters, whiche shoulde serue the sicke  
men, were at the west ende. At the  
east ende, hauynge a prospect into the  
noythe, was the ware houses, whiche  
serued for medicines: to theim were  
ioyned the lodgynge of the apoth-  
ecaries, phisicians, and surgeons, and  
they were ryght fayre and honestly  
furnyshed.

¶ Of no lesse magnificence were the  
two hospitals in the citee, but rather  
more costely, wherby the beaultie of  
Rome was much augmented. These  
thynges



thynges beyng stablished, the senate, toke on them the gouernance of them, appointyng euery yere by lotte. x. senators to be thereof surueyors and controuersers of all the officers and other ministers. And the same senators at the ende of theyr yere to make account openly to the Tribunes and people, of the imployment of euery parcell of the sayde reuenues. And yf any were founde in arreage, he shuld be compelled immediately to paye to the treasury of the sayde hospitalles, foure tymes as muche as the arreage amounted to. Finally, so muche commoditee happened vnto the citee of Rome by the sayde hospitalles and other ordinances before rehersed, that within very fewe yeres after, no foule sickenesse was perceiued to be in the citee, nor idell persone: by occasion wherof a great part of the chambres in hie sayde hospitalles were vacante, and muche of the reuenues were saued: whiche beyng brought to the common treasourie, afterwarde eased the people of taxes in tyme of warre, to their no little comfort and quietnesse.

## IMAGE OF

In howe sundry wyse Alexander  
exercised his owne person, so  
that he was neuer unprofit-  
tably occupied. Capi-  
tulo. xxiii.

**T**he mynde of this noble emper-  
our was so feruently sette and  
determined, to the good gouer-  
nance and aduancement of the weale  
publike, and the conseruacion of the  
same, that in eight the first yeres of  
his empire, which was the most parte  
of his reigne, in as much as he rei-  
gned but, viii. yeres and .ix. dayes,  
he dyd almost none other thyng, but  
continually sit with his counsaylours,  
whiche were neuer fewer than fiftie  
men excellent in learning and vertue,  
traictyng and deuysyng thynges ex-  
pedient for the weale publyke. And  
by the example of Augustus the em-  
perour, he reported to the whole se-  
nate ones in a monethe, suche thyn-  
ges, wherupon they were concluded,  
with the principall reasons, whiche  
therro induced theim: whiche yf the  
more parte of the Senate semblablye  
lyked,

tyked, than were the prouises or ordinaunces deuysed, by their sentence approued, and incontinetely enacted and publyshed. And to the entent he would not haue his laboures, and the auctoritee of the senate frustrate by the lacke of execution. Notwithstanding that he had many espialles (as I sayde before) to awayte the defaultes of officers, he vsed many tymes to disguise hym selfe in dyuers straunge facions, as sometyme in the habite of a scholer of philosophie, commen out of Grece, and speakyng nothyng but Grecke, which he did most exquisitely: oftentimes like a marchaunt, come out of Syria, or Persia, whiche had than but one language, & that spake the emperour naturally, for as muche as he was borne in Syria. And hauyng with hym one or two men of that countrey, which he dyd counterfeit, he lyke a scholar or seruaunt woulde one day haunte one parte of the citce, an other day an other parte: And most politikely fynde occasion to see the state of the people, with the industrie or negligence of theym thae

¶ iii      were



## IMAGE OF

where officers, which progreſſe he wold  
neuer diſcouer to any man, but onely  
to Alpiant, or one or two moe of his  
moſt ſecret counſailours or ſeruaun-  
tes, neither befoze that he beganne it,  
nor after: and to them that accompa-  
nied hym, he commaunded, that they  
ſhoulde kepe it ever ſecret, as they  
woulde auoyde his moſte greenouſe  
diſpleaſure. And in deede, durynge his  
life, it was by them neuer diſcouered.  
But ſometyme he coulde not ſo eſ-  
cape vnknoſen, but that he was  
ſometyme perceiued, but dreadynge  
his ſeueritte, they that mette with  
hym, and knewe hym, durſte not ſa-  
lute hym, or make any ſigne of know-  
lage vnto hym. But whan that they  
had diſcloſed it, all they that hearde  
it, examined theyr owne actes: and  
all they, whiche at that tyme hadde  
doen any thyng woorthy to be repro-  
ued, liued in dreade, loking to be ther-  
foze corrected, or at the leaſte wayes  
blamed. Contrariwiſe, they whiche  
had doen any thyng woorthy com-  
mendacion, tooke meruailouſe com-  
fozt, doubting not, but that their good

letes shoulde eyther with benefite, or with the emperours paises be shortly rewarded: whereunto soone after was added to profyte, eyther in some office, or in other petylly reuenues.

¶ After that he had reduced the citee to this honozable state, he than by the aduise of his mosse discrete counsaylours, once or twice in the weeke, bled to solace out of the citee, with a great compaignie with hym of honourable personages. For he neuer shewed hym selfe openly as emperour, but with a great and honozable presence, aboue any other kynge of the worlde: all be it, than he expessed a meruaylouse familiaritee to all men indifferently, that lysted to appoche hym, without repulse to any man beyng in honest vesture, and not diseased with infectiue sickenesse.

¶ In this solasyng he hunted the harte, the wilde boze, and suche as he called Alces, brought for the nonce out of the great wooddes of Germany, which be in quantitee hygher and longer than any oxe. He hunted also oftentymes the beare, but that was  
 M iiii onely

## IMAGE OF

Onely when he was in the partes  
where they were bred, saying: That  
forasmuch as the beare was of his na-  
ture a deuourer of cattell, he despyred  
not to haue of that kynde in those pla-  
ces, where cattell is nourished.

**I**n huntynge these beastes, he some-  
time on hys backe proued his strenght,  
sometimes shootynge, otherwhyles cas-  
sying at them iauelins, which serued  
for that purpose. Oftentimes he on-  
ly behelde other yong gentlemen hunt-  
ynge, which he deuided into sundrye  
companies, and appointed to them a  
number certayne of arrowes or iauer-  
lins, to the intent that one should not  
be more exercised, or take more solace  
in huntynge than an other.

**T**he lions, libardes, tygers, pan-  
thers, and other lyke straunge and fu-  
riouse beastes, he had in great num-  
bres, whiche were kepte onely to the  
intent that at certayne tymes in the  
Amphitheatre, and other lyke places  
in the citee, ordeined to the purpose,  
the prople mought take pleasure in  
beholdynge them, and also seying some  
suche desperate persons (as would  
auct



adventure theyr liues) fight with some of the sayde beastes, or one beaste to fight with an other. But neuer woulde he lette any gentilman Romaine to doe any suche battayle, sayyng: That he esteemed none so little, that he woulde put hym in daunger, for such a beaste, whose bodye beeyng deade, was nothyng profitable.

¶ He toke also pleasure to hunt the falowe dere, the Roe, and the hare with greihoudes, inforcing his horse (wherin he much delyted) to geue as manye cournes to the game that he hunted, as the greihoundes shoulde dooe. And in that pastyme hauyng to euery beast of venery but two dogges at the most, he contended with many other yonge gentilmen on horsebacke whiche were by hym selfe onely appointed, to shew hym selfe moste delyuer and redie to encountre and checke the game at the moste aduantage: wherein was a ryght pleasaunte and also profitable exercise, shewyng a bisage or representaciō of a skyrmyche in warres, specially whan he hunted the harte, and the beastes named Al-

## IMAGE OF

ces. For than there requyred to be  
shewed muche strengthe and hardy-  
nesse, and in the pursuite labour and  
paine fulnesse. And in this solace  
he vled muche prudence. For they  
whiche one daye hunted with hym,  
shoulde not hunte the nexte daye, but  
beholde other hunting, and marke di-  
ligently the lacke of them that hun-  
ted in so muche haste or slownesse, to  
the intent that they mought refrayne  
suche defeaute. And they that dyd  
beste, were praysed. And by him that  
was the prouost of hunting, it was  
registered in the emperours presence,  
howe many tymes euery man was  
commended, to the intent that as  
roumes of capitaynes and petite ca-  
pitaines were boide in any of the em-  
perours garisons, the whiche in the  
sayde huntinges were iudged most  
actife, if other good maners were in  
them founde accor dyng, shoulde be  
preferred to suche roumes after theyr  
merites. But alwaye this good em-  
perour had a bygilant respecte to the  
fourme of theyr luynges, and ad-  
uanced no man sodeinly, but with  
longe

longe deliberacion and good aduise-  
ment.

**C** Forcouer notwithstandinge his  
huntinge or other recreation, he neuer  
woulde lette any day passe, without  
either consultyng somethyng for the  
weale publike, or geuyng some true  
sentence in iudgement, or readyng  
some place in good authoys, to aug-  
ment his wysedome, or wytyng some  
story or other thyng worthy remem-  
braunce: he was suche a nygarde of  
time, that he was meruailously gree-  
ued, yf he spente any daye in solace  
without doyng of any of of those thin-  
ges that I haue reherced. Notwith-  
standinge that in the meane tyme, all  
the affaires of thempire were treated  
and ordred by men assured good and  
faithfull, whom he knew well wolde  
not be corrupted. And whan nede  
requyzed, he hearde matters befoze it  
was daye, and prolonged the tyme  
yntyll it were late and within night.  
And yet not with standinge he neuer  
shewed countenaunce of weynesse,  
ne to be in any part slowarde or an-  
gry: but hadde alway one maner of  
bysage



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visage, and in all thynges seemed mery and pleasaunt.

**C** Undoubtedly he was of an excellent prudence, as in whom no man coulde fynde any lacke, and of so ready a witte, that if any man merily wolde taste him with a pteary taunt, he shoulde shortly perceiue, that he vnderstode hym.

**C** After the commune affayres, as well ciuile as merciall, he gaue the more part of his studie to the reading of Grecke authours, readyng the booke of Plato of a publyke weale.

And whan he would reade any latine booke, he radde specially the booke of Tullie, of a publyke weale, and also his offices. Sometyme he radde orations and poetes : amonge whom was Setenus Ammonicus, whom he knew and fauoured, and also Horace.

He radde muche the lyfe of the greates Alexander, whom specially he followed, notwithstandinge he abhorred his drunkenesse and crueltie. Albe it, the one and the other is defended & excused by some good authours : whom oftentimes the emperour much beleued

Alexander  
magnus.

beleued.

¶ After his studie he applyed hym selfe to wraſtlyng, renning, or throwyng of the ball moderately.

¶ After his exercise, hauyng his bodie akoynted with preciousse and holysome oynementes (as it was at that tyme the vse) he entred into a baine or ſew not hottie, where he taried sometyme by the ſpace of one houre, not onely to waſhe hym, but alſo to exercise hym ſelfe in ſwymmynge. And whan he was come out of the baine, he woulde eate a good quantitee of milke, ſopped with fine manchet, and a fewe egges, and thereto woulde he drynke merhe: and takyng this for his breakfaſte: ſometyme he woulde dine alſo: And oftentymes he abſteigned vntyll ſupper.

¶ Alwaie at after noone he applyed the tyme to ſignyng and readynge of letters and billes, they whiche were called remembrauncers, ſtandyng about hym: And yf by the reaſon of ſickenelle or age it were peynfull for theym to ſtande, he cauſed theym to ſit downe, and made the ſecretaries,

## IMAGE OF

of clerkes to reade the sayd letters of billes vnto theim: The emperour hauyng alway a penne, with his owne hande added to, that which was necessitarie: but that did he by the aduise of sentence that seemed best of moſte conuenient. Whan he had perused all these thynges, all his friendes were let in together, and who thar lyſt mought freely and boldly ſpeake than vnto hym: and he merely and comfortably gaue care vnto theim. All be it, he woulde heare no man alone, without his great maſter, of Alpian the lawier, and ſuche as were aſſociate with hym in ſome ſpeciall cauſe of iuſtice: but yet he neuer talked with any of theym, but that he cauſed Alpian alſo to be preſent. In this forme this noble emperour paſſed his tyme, entrelacyng therewith other maner of ſolace,

How



**T**hose the emperour Alexander, at  
the requeste of his mother Qam-  
mea, sent for the most excellene  
clerke Origene: and of diuers  
notable sentences spokē by  
the same emperour, con-  
cerning the receiuing  
of Chriſten faith.

Capitulo.

xxv.

**A**t this tyme there was in the ~~Eurolpus~~  
cittie of Alexandria in Aegypte  
a man excellent in all maner of  
learnynge, and therewith wonderfull  
eloquent in the Grecke tounge, whose  
name was Adamantius Origenes, in  
somuche as whan he was but of the  
age of .xviii. yeres, he was in all  
the liberall sciences, and in philoso-  
phy learned exactlye aboute all mens  
estimation, he was sonne of one Leo-  
nidas, who for the chriſten faith was  
beheaded.

**A**lso this Origene was chriſtened  
and from his tender age moste perfit-  
ly brought vp in the rules of that re-  
ligion, which he alway most exactly  
ob-

## IMAGE OF

observed, as wel in all kyndes of abstinence, as in example of humilitee, and contempt of thynges worldly.

He was for his great learninge and severitee of life, appointed by the bishop of christen men in Alexandria, to preache and expounde the booke, whiche they called the Bible: by occasion wherof he drew a great numbere of people dayely to the sayde Christen fayth: which although the emperour Alexander knewe, after he dyd perceiue, that they were exquisite followers of vertue, and peace, he woulde not suffer that any of them should be apprehended or punished: but hadde them in great admiration and reverence.

The fame of this great clerke Origene came to the eares of Mamma the emperours mother: who (as some men supposed) was all readie persuaded to embrace that profession. Wherfore to be the more perfectly instructed therein, she most affectionately coueited the presence of the sayde Origene. And therfore she awaytyng opportunitye, came to the emperour her sonne,

sonne, and desired him, that he wold  
sende for the saide Origene, whose  
famous learnynge was onely by re-  
port known vnto hym. To the whic  
che request he easely graunted. And  
he hym selfe indited letters to be di-  
rected to Alexander, than beyng the  
bishop of Chyrien men in Alexandria,  
the renour wherof hereafter ensuech.

[ Alexander emperor Augustus. &c. to Alexander the chiefe byshoppe of  
Christians in the great citee of Alex-  
andria, well to dooe. The same of  
the vertue and wonderfull learnynge  
of Adamantius Origenes your great  
philosopher, soundeth continually in  
our eares, whiche maketh vs desyr-  
rouse to beholde and here him, whose  
name conserndely in honourable re-  
noume with our imperiall maiestee.

The let-  
ters of A-  
lexander  
the emper-  
our.

We not withstanding not enuyng his  
glorie, but couertyng to be parte ta-  
kers of his inspicid learnynge. and for  
lowers of his vertue, do requyre you,  
to lycence hym to come vnto vs to  
Rome at his leisure, without festina-  
cion or trauayle. We haue wyspenn  
to our prynces of Egypt, that he pro-

R

vide



## IMAGE OF

wyde for hym all thyng expedient for  
his iourney toward vs. Fare ye well.

**A**fter the bishop had receiued these  
letters, he muche reioysing thereat,  
sent for Origene. But with great  
difficultee mought he perswade hym  
to take that iourney, allegynge by di-  
uerse argumentes, that it shoulde be  
more necessarie, that he continued his  
preachynges & lessons where a great  
parte of the people were all redie in-  
fourmed in the Chryslian fayth, and  
dayly increased, and waxed desirous  
of the interpretation of diuine misse-  
ries, than to go to the citee of Rome,  
where abounded all vyce, pryde and  
tyrannie, and there to sowe precious  
seedes, as it were in the sande, or to  
geue orient perles to swyne.

**A** yet finally whan the byshop and o-  
ther sage personages had credibly in-  
formed hym of the most excellent ver-  
tues of the emperour Alexander, and  
in what sort he had reformed the state  
of the citee of Rome, he condescended  
to goe thither. Which beeyng inti-  
mate into the pryncesse of Aegypte: he  
(accoordynge to the Emperours com-  
maunde:

mandement) prouided for him a ship  
with all thynges necessarie vnto his  
tourney. And because he behelde him  
simply apparayled, he ordeyned for  
hym sundry garmentes in the moste  
honest sort that philosophers than vs-  
ed: But Origene woulde not receiue  
any part therof, nor so muche as ho-  
sen or shoes, but lyke as he alway ac-  
customed to go fro his chylthod (that  
is to say, in a single garment of cloth,  
and barefooted) so went he to Rome.  
¶ And when at his arrival there was  
brought vnto hym a mule and a cha-  
riote, to ride on the which he best ly-  
ked: he answered: That he was  
muche lesse than his maister Chrys-  
t, whiche rode but one day in his lyfe, &  
that was on a sely asse mare: Where-  
fore he would not ride, except he were  
sicke or decrepite: so that his legges  
mought not serue hym to go.

¶ The emperour and his mother he-  
ring of the comming of Origene, cau-  
sed hym to be brought in theyr pre-  
sence, where he accordyng to his du-  
tie ryght humbly saluted the Empe-  
rour knelyng, but the emperour with

## IMAGE OF

moste gentill countenance embraced hym, and inforced hym to stande on his feete. Semblablye the emperours mother deuoutely saluted hym, reioysing muche of his presence.

**¶** Whan the emperour had beholden his natue grauice, and most assured countenance, he in his herte iudged hym to be a reuerende personage.

Then demaunded he of hym, what thyng he professed. He answered:

*Veritee.*

*Veritee.* The emperour asked of hym, what he ment thereby. He sayde: Je was the woorde of the lyving God, whiche was infallible. The emperour asked, whiche was the lyvinge god, and why he so called hym. Origene answered: That he dyd put that distinction for a difference from them, whom men beying longe dwelled in erreur, dyd call theyr goddes, whom they confesse to be once mortal, and so haue dyed: but the god, whom he preached, was euer lyving and neuer dyed, and is the lyfe of all thynges that be, lyke as he was the creatour of them.

*Lyvinge  
God.*

**¶** And whan the emperour had requied



supped hym to declare the bntee of  
 God the creatour, he deuoutely lyf-  
 tyng vp his eyes, after a shorte medita-  
 tion, with an incomparable and  
 most compendious eloquence, foorth-  
 with opened that misterie in suche  
 wise, that as well to the emperour  
 and his mother, as to all other stanz-  
 dyng about them (of whom I Euz-  
 colpius moste happelye was one) it  
 seemed, that we were brought out of  
 a longe slepe, and than dyd we see  
 thynges as they were in deede, and  
 that whiche befoze we esteemed and  
 honoured, were but vayne dreames  
 and imaginacions. yet the emperour  
 after a lytle pause, sayde vnto Ori-  
 gene, that he muche me uailed, why  
 men of suche wonderfull knowlage,  
 shoulde honour for God, a man that  
 was crucified: beeyng but of a poore  
 estate and condicion. O noble em-  
 perour (sayde Origene) Consyder  
 what honour at this present tyme the  
 wise Atheniensses yet doe to the name  
 and image of Codrus, theyr last king  
 of Athenes, for as muche as at the  
 tyme that warre was made by the

## IMAGE OF

two people called Peloponenses, and Dorienſes, agaynst the Athenienſes, anſwere was made to them, whiche counſailed with Apollo at Delphos, that the Peloponēſes & Dorienſes (if they ſlew not the kynge of Athens) ſhoulde haue the victorie. Whereof Codrus hearyng, preferring the ſafegarde of his people beſore his owne lyfe, toke on hym the garmentes of a ſlaue, and bearyng on his ſhoulder a burdeine of ſickes, went to the hoſte of his enemies, and there of a purpoſe quarrelſing with ſome of them, and in the preſc hurtynge one with his knyfe, he was by hym, whiche was hurte, ſtriken through the body and ſlayne: by occaſion wherof, after that it was perceiued and knowne of the enemies, they beyng confuſed, reysed theyr campe and departed. And for this cauſe the Athenienſes, haue euer ſens had the name of Codrus in reuerence, and as all men do thynke worthily and not without reaſon.

Now than to conſider moſt excellent prince, howe muche more woorthye, with what greater reaſon and bounden

ben diuine ought we and all men to  
honour Chryſte, beyng the ſonne of  
god, and god, who not onely to pre-  
ſerue mankynde from daungerr of the  
deuyll, his auncient enemye, but alſo  
to delyuer man out of his darke and  
ſynkynge dungeon of errour, beyng  
ſent by god the father from the high-  
eſt heauens, wyllyngely toke on hym  
the ſeruaile garment of a mortall bo-  
die, and hydyng his maiſteſſe, lyued  
vnder the vſage of pouertee, and fi-  
nally, not of his enemies immediat-  
ly, but muche moze againſt reaſon, of  
his owne choſen people the Jewes,  
vnto whom he hadde extended bene-  
fices innumerable, and after his tem-  
porall natiuitee were his naturall  
people and ſubiectes, he quarelyng  
with them, by declaring vnto them  
their abuſes, and prickynge them with  
condygne rebukes, at the laſt he was  
not ſlayne with ſo eaſy a death as  
Codus was, but in moſt cruell facion  
was ſcourged vntyll no place in his  
bodye was without woundes: and  
than had a crowne of long and sharpe  
thornes ſet and preſſed on his heade,



## IMAGE OF

and after longe tourmentes and despises, he was constrained to beare an heaue crosse, whereon afterwards bothe his handes and feete were nayled with longe and great nayles of yron: and the crosse with his naked and bloudy body beynge lyfte vp on height, was lette fall with violence into a morteyse, that all his iointes were dissolued. And not withstandinge all this tourment and ingratitude, he neuer grudged, but lyftynge vp his eyes vnto heauen, he prayed with a loude voyce, saying: Father forgive them, for they knowe not what they dooe.

**T**his was the charitee moste incomparablee of the sonne of God, employed, for the redemption of mankind, who by the transgression of Adam the first man that euer was created, was taken prisoner by the deuyll, that is to saye, kepte in the bondage of errour and sinne, from the actual vision of goddes maiestee, vntyll he were in this wyse redemed, according as it was ordeined at the begynnyng.

**A**t these woordes of Origen all they

they that were present were wonder-  
fully astonied, and therewith thempe-  
rour with a sturdy countenance sayd  
vnto Origene.

**T**ye haue wonderfully sette forth a  
lamentable historie, but yet notwith-  
standing therein be thynges darke and  
ambiguouse, whiche dooe requyre a  
more playne declaracion. For what  
maketh you bolde to affirme, that  
Jesus, which in this wise was cruci-  
fied, was the sonne of god and god,  
as ye haue called hym? **Sy** (sayde  
Origene) sufficient testimony, whiche  
of all creatures reasonable ought to  
be belueued, and for the most certaine  
profe to be allowed. What testimo-  
ny is that, sayd the emperour? **T**ruely  
sayde Origene, it is in dyuerse  
thynges. **F**yrst the promyse of god,  
by whom all this worlde was made.  
Also by his holy spirite speakynge by  
the mouthes of prophetes, as well  
Hebrewes as Greekes, and other  
whom ye call **V**ates, and **S**ibillas.

**T**hirdly by the natiuitee of Jesus of  
a pure virgin without carnall com-  
pany of manne: the most pure and

**A**d

cleane

## IMAGE OF

How many  
were at  
the ascen-  
cion of  
Christ.

cleane fourme of his lyuynge without  
sinne: his doctrine diuine and cele:  
stiall: his miracles moſte wonderfull  
and innumerable, all grounded on  
charitee onely without ostentation;  
his vndoubtfull and perfect resurrec:  
cion the thyrde daye after he was pue  
to death: his gloriouse ascencion bp  
vnto heauen in the pſence and ſight  
of ſiue hundred perſons, which were  
betwixte and of good credence. Al:  
ſo the gift of the holy goſt, in ſpeking  
all maner of languages, and inter:  
pretyng ſcripture, not onely by him  
ſelfe, but alſo afterwarde by his A:  
poſtles and diſciples, and geuen to o:  
ther by impoſicion of theyr handes.  
And all theſe thynges ordinatily fol:  
lowed accordyng vnto the ſayd pro:  
myſes and prophesies. I omitte to  
ſpeake of the confeſſion of deuyles,  
whiche by Jeſus, and his Apoſtles in  
his name, were caſte out of people,  
whiche were obceſſed. The oracles  
and aunſweres of them, whom ye bu:  
rually call goddes, doe remayne in  
confirming this teſtimonie.

¶ Whan Origen had ſayde all this



he forthwith beganne there, and disclosed the answers of Apollo made at Delphos, affirming Iesus to bee God. Afterwarde he recyted and declared the prophetes as well of the Hebrewes as of the Sybilles and other. Last the promise of God vnto the Patriarkes, by the which he manifestly appeared, that Iesus was Christ and God: and that by his temporall natiuitee he was kynge of Ierusalem: and that the Iewes were his naturall subiectes. Whiche declaration of Origene was so euident and plaine, and set forth with such wonderfull eloquence, deuotion, and learninge, that it perswaded the Emperour and diuers other, whiche then were presente, wherof I Eucolpius was one, to embrace the profession of Christs faith and doctrine: for the which I geue moste humble thanks vnto God, by whose onely grace I was called. And for that tyme the emperour gaue licence to Origene to retourne vnto Alexandria: For as muche as he durste not attempte to publyshe the Chyrtien saythe by his  
auctory:

## IMAGE OF

Lampth.  
diss.

antiochie, the persecution of christen  
men beyng but late celled, and they  
beyng yet odious to the Senate and  
people. Notwithstandinge in his  
priue closette he had the images of  
Chrysse, of Abraham and of Moyses,  
and beyng by hym selfe he honoured  
one God, as I my selfe beyng often  
tymes secret with hym, dyd well per-  
ceiue. And at the lasse he made re-  
quest to the Senate, that there mought  
be made a temple to Chrysse: where-  
with they all were soze greened, and  
dyd obstinately denie it, sayinge, that  
they had counsayled with the goddess  
of whom they had aunswere, that yf  
that were suffered, all men shoulde  
be christians, and all other temples  
shoulde be made desolate. Wherefore  
he ceased his enterpryse. But alwaye  
he was audious in the booke of chris-  
ten men, and often tymes vled theyr  
sentences. As whan any man  
went out of the high way, and wolde  
passe throught an other mans ground,  
breakyng his inclosure, and tydinge  
ouer his corne or grasse, yf he percei-  
ued it, he woulde cause hym to be  
beaten

beaten with staves or rodde in his  
 presence, after the qualitee of his tres-  
 pasc: or if he were a man of honour or  
 worthyp, he wolde geue to hym great  
 rebukes, and say vnto hym: Wouldest  
 thou haue that doen vnto thee, that  
 thou doest to an other? And whan a  
 man was punysshed, for any such tres-  
 pasc, he woulde cause it to be openly  
 proclaymed: That whiche to thy selfe  
 thou wouldest not haue doen, do not  
 in any wise vnto an other. Also whan  
 cookes of the citee claimed a certaine  
 place, which chrysten men hadde, and  
 his pleasure was therein required, he  
 wrote his in rescript. It were better  
 that god were there honoured in any  
 maner of facion, than that cookes  
 shoulde haue therof possession.

¶ Eucolpius writeth, that on a tyme  
 he sayde to him, and to Philippe his  
 bondeman: I perceiue, ye doe wonder  
 at the lernyng of Origene, wherby ye  
 be induced to embrace the chrysten pro-  
 fession. Truly the humilitie and cha-  
 rite of the chrysten people whiche I  
 haue hearde of, and do dayly behold,  
 doe much more stee me to beleue, that  
 they



## IMAGE OF

theyr Christ is God, than the tesidus  
of all his perswasion.

¶ And on a tyme whan two Christen  
men contended proundly together, and  
they accused eche other of speakynge  
reprocheful wordes of the emperour,  
he called them befoze hym, and prohibi-  
ted them to name them felues chris-  
ten men, saying: your pryde and ma-  
lice do declare, that ye bee not the fol-  
lowers of hym whom ye professe.

Wherefoze though ye find lacke in me,  
the which I wyl gladly amende, yet  
wyl I not suffer you against iustyce,  
to reprove by your actes hym, whose  
lyfe and doctrine ye al do affirme to be  
uncontaminated and without any lacke.

¶ Whiche wordes being once spread  
amonge the christen men in this citee  
of Rome, made theim all afterward  
more circumspecte, and in humiltee  
and charitee to be the moze constant.

Rome

**T** Howe Gammea the emperours mother exhorted him to be married, and what wise aunsweres he made, and fynally toke to wyfe the daughter of a noble and auncient Senatour. Capitulo. xxvi.

**V** When the emperor was come to the age of .xx. yeres his mother Gammea exhorted him to take to his wyfe some mayden of a noble and auncient house, to the intent that he mought haue generacion, whiche shoulde be for the sure tranquillitee of the citee and empire, and to the principall comforte of hym, the Senate, and people of Rome.

**A**fter he had diligently heard his mother saye all that she woulde, he made to hir an aunswere in forme following: I dare well saye madame, that ye haue geuen to me this counsaile, of a sincere and natural loue, that ye beare towarde me your onely sonne. But for as much as it is the matter, whiche within my selfe I haue muche more debated, than I suppose ye haue doen, although perchance

## IMAGE OF

chaunce yehave thought more on te,  
I wyll declare vnto you, how I find  
in my fantasie, that the taking of a  
wife shoulde be to the publike weale  
and to my selfe more daungerous  
than fruitefull, specially at this time.  
For whete ye wyll me to take a may-  
den, if she shall be muche yonger than  
I am, perchaunce she shall not be so  
apt for generacion of chyldren, strong  
and lusty, as yf she were of more yeres.  
And I couet not to deface the im-  
periall maiestie with chyldren weake  
and vn lusty. Also the sturdynesse of  
the Romaynes may not susteyne to be  
gouerned, but of theim, whiche as  
well in personage as wysedome bee  
conuenient and seemely.

If she shall be as olde or elder than  
I am, than shall I brynge my selfe  
to muche vnquietnesse and trouble of  
mynde. For ye knowe well, it is not  
yet passynge foure yeres agoe, that  
the abhominable monster my kyn-  
man Helioabalus, lefte not onely  
the citee of Rome, but also all the  
countrey of Italie so polluted with  
detestable lecherie, that with muche  
difficultee



difficultee mought one finde an house  
wherein had not ben committed some  
kynde of that vyce, eyther voluntary,  
oz els by inforcement.

Wherefore yf I shoulde marry one of  
the sayde citee oz territory, although  
I founde her by fame and experience  
a mayden, yet shoulde not that dis-  
charge my mynde of suspicion: thyn-  
kyng alway, that she was rather so  
kepte by restrynct of libertee, than  
by hir owne chastitee: Consyderpung  
that she dyd here oz see dayely suche  
wanton allectiues and prouocations  
to lechery, that the custome thereof  
dye assaunte the mynde so continually  
that it were well nyghe impossible to  
escape vncorrupted, although the bo-  
dy by vigilant custodie abode vnde-  
fyled: And this suspicion shoulde  
wraspe my hart in suche melancholy,  
that I shoulde seldome be merie oz  
pleasant with her, whom for mistrust  
I could not loue perfectly. And to  
take a wyfe of any other countrey, ye  
know well, it hath not ben the vse of  
Emperours, oz other noble men of  
this citee, I suppose it hath been for  
the

## IMAGE OF

the warres, whiche hath and mought  
efelsoones happen to be, betweene vs  
and these outward countreys. Where-  
fore if the women therof shoulde be  
marryed to the emperour and other of  
the nobilitie, and that soone after  
shoulde happen hostilitie betweene  
them and those countreys, muche in-  
conuenience mought come to the citie  
and publyke weale, by meanes of the  
women in fauouring theyr parentes,  
the meanes I wyl not reherse, for of-  
fending of you and other ladies: and  
also sens you and all that are wyse,  
maye soone coniecte what I meane.  
Fynally I am determined, not to al-  
ter that custome, whiche is both aun-  
cient and honourable.

Moreover I can not be sure to  
haue generacion whan I am marryed,  
and than the onely cause therof is bre-  
kerly frustrate. And to me, which  
shall be alway in studie and busynesse  
about the weale publyke, the wife re-  
mayneth a rediouse impediment and  
charge superfluous. Semblablye  
shall I be vnto hir an vnpleasaunte  
gymbrehouse, finding little idell time

to be in her company: and being fati-  
gate with businesse about the weale  
publyke, I shall be lesse diligent and  
pleasaunt with her, than she woulde  
haue me, whercof mought ensue not  
onely contencion betwene vs, but al-  
so matter of worse occasion.

¶ And where ye seme to affirme, that  
my generacion shulde be for the tran-  
quillitee of this citee and empire, and  
for the comfort of me, the senate, and  
people: Truly whan I remembre,  
what doughters the moste noble Aus-  
gustus had, whom for their corrupted  
lyuing, and for the griefes, whiche he  
thereby suffeigned, he was wonte to  
call them his borches and boyles.

¶ Whan I thinke what soonnes the  
reuerend Vaspasian, the wyse & most  
vertuous prince Marcus Antoninus,  
the honorable Seuerus left, for theyr  
successours in the empire of Rome,  
whiche were all slaine for theyr dete-  
nable lyuings? O howe little care I  
for childzen, ye howe gladde woulde  
I be alway to lacke them? that my  
benefices, whiche I entende to em-  
ploy on the weale publike, by the fol-



## IMAGE OF

**Children.**

lie or vice of my children be not consumed, men more hatyng my name, for that I haue begotten and left vnto them in the steede of a gouernour, a rybaulde or tyranne for to succede me: than they wil praise me for mine owne charitee. O what sorowe and payne shall my soule suffer (yf there be any care amonge them, whiche be passed out of this worlde) whā I shall beholde wth immortall eyes, my chyldre, whiche is of myne owne substance to abandone that thyng, whiche I loued: to embrace that whiche I hated: to be of the Senate abhorred, of the people detested, and of all fozeine princes disdeigned, and fynally of all honeste men persecuted lyke a serpent or monster, like a wolfe or Tyger, infamed for lecherie, persecuted for tyrannie? O happy sterilitie wherby lacketh annoyauce. O hatefull fertilitie, wherof commeth sickness or pestilence.

**Sterilitie.**

I am sure, that sterilitie can no more hurt me, but onely take from me the name of a father, or the dootyng pleasure to se my lyttle soonne ryde  
on a

on a cokholse, or to here hym chatter  
 and speake lyke a wanton. And I am  
 not sure, that fertilitie shall bring to  
 me any more quietnesse, than I have  
 all readye. For my childe being of  
 suche inclination, as best shall con-  
 sent me, if death take hym from me,  
 than shall I languishe in tourmentes  
 incurable, considering that I can not  
 well sufficeine the deathe of my ser-  
 uantes. If he lyue with me, and be  
 eyther a foole, a rebould, or ryanne,  
 than shoulde I lyke Edippus scratch  
 out mine eyes, rather than I wold be  
 holde suche a monster proceede of my  
 bodie: yea rather slea him with myne  
 owne handes, than to let suche one to  
 succede me. Or if he escaped me, I  
 wolde aske that onely rewarde of the  
 senate and people, that they wold sa-  
 crifice hym on my tombe, whā I were  
 buried. Therfore mother, I pray you  
 cease from exhortyng me vnto mary-  
 age, vntyll I be herto better dispo-  
 sed, whiche shall be, whan in behol-  
 dyng one, whiche perchaunce I have  
 not yet seene, some affection, or I be  
 ware, may in me, as it hath in other,

## IMAGE OF

Surmount bothe learning and wyles  
dome.

¶ With these wordes the wise lady,  
shewyng her selfe as she were content,  
departed vnto her lodgeryng.

¶ Not longe after, she bode the em-  
perour vnto a supper and bankette:  
And against his comyng she had as-  
sembled a great number of the fairest  
maydens in Rome, attendyng upon  
theyr mother, or on some other ann-  
cient and sadde gentiwomen, whom  
whan the emperour beheld, he forth  
with coniectured the intente of his mo-  
ther. Notwithstanding he moste  
gentilly countenaunced them all, and  
shewed hym well content with theyr  
companie, although it were not cor-  
respondent vnto his fantasie. But  
after he had eaten, and drunke more  
wyne than he was accustomed to doe,  
beyng chaufed in body and spirite, in  
casting his eyes hither and thither, he  
at the last behelde an excellente saye  
maiden, named Gemma, which was  
doughter of a noble man called Sul-  
picius. And after he had deuised with  
hir, and founde her to be wise, sobre,  
and



and of singular humilitee, he muche  
 loved hir, and at the laste by the con-  
 tinuall prouocation of his moother,  
 and consente of his counsaile, he mar-  
 ried her: but she dyed shortly after,  
 wherewith he toke no lyttle discom-  
 fort, saying oftentymes: So great a  
 treasure as I haue losse, a man sel-  
 dome fyndereth. Death were getil, if he  
 toke nothing but that that offendeth.

[Euclpius wyl not be knowe, that  
 he had any moe wiues: but Lampri-  
 dius vseth the authoxtee of one Des-  
 sippus, who sayeth, that Alexander  
 had an other wyfe, who was dought-  
 ter of one Marius. But whan  
 it was founde, that he woulde haue  
 slayne the emperour by treason, he  
 was putte to death, and his dought-  
 ter separate from the emperour.

Herodianus affirmeth, that al thas  
 was doon by the malice of Mam-  
 mea the emperours mother, without  
 other cause, onely because she coulde  
 not susteyne hir sonnes wyfe to bee  
 called Augusta, & therefore she caused  
 hir to be exiled into Africa, and all  
 the landes and goodes of hir father,

## IMAGE OF

**S**ammas toke & conuerted vnto his  
owne profyte: whiche reporte I sup-  
pose vntreue, consydering that Sam-  
mas was so wyse and vertuose a la-  
by: and beeyng well instructed in  
Christes religion, knew well, how de-  
vastable vnto god is enuy and cruelte.

**O**f the seruice that Alexander  
bled, as well towarde them that  
were proude, as to theym that  
were malapert and dyd not  
theyr durtie. Capit:  
culo. xxvii.

**I**n a tyme he beeyng Censor or  
correctour of maners with Juli-  
us Paulus & Callidius Rufus,  
and walkyng in the strettes of Rome  
with a few other disguised lyke com-  
muners: he happened to meete with  
a senators sonne, haupng with hym  
a great traine of yonge men: whom  
he, and they that were with him salu-  
ted, doyng to him reuerence: the yong  
man beheld them disdeignefully, and  
with a proude countenaunce, with-  
out saying any thing: and they which  
were

were with hym dyd also the sembla-  
ble. Wherefoze the emperour at his  
retourne home to his palaice incont-  
inent discharged the father of the said  
pouge man, out of the Senate, say-  
yng, that he was not woorthy nor  
meete to bee of that reuerende com-  
panye, whereby the weale publyke  
ought to be gouerned, and the empe-  
rour him selfe to be chiefly counsay-  
led, sens he had so yl brought vp his  
sonne, that not onely he hym selfe  
lacked humanitie, and extended a  
more stately facion than perteyned to  
his degree, but also by his exemple  
caused them that were with hym, to  
embrace pryde, whiche is capitaine of  
vices, and chiefe confounder of all  
publyke weales.

¶ Soone after he sent for the sayde  
pouge gentilman and his company-  
ons, and sharply rebuked them, say-  
yng, that pryde is the most horrible  
monster, and of all men so hated, that  
it is not hadde in detestation of good  
men onely, but also to theym whiche  
be proud, they that be lesse proud be in  
derde of all other most obious. And



## IMAGE OF

as pride seeth loue, prouoketh dis-  
deigne, kendlcth malice, confoundeth  
Justice, and subuerteth weales pu-  
blyke: so gentilnesse and affabilitie  
dooe liue by affection, augmente be-  
neuolence, incende charitie, supporte  
good equitie, and preserve most sure-  
ly countreys and citees.

**A**nd after that he had charged the  
to abandon and leaue the sayde vyce  
and other, and to embrace vertue and  
gentill maners, whereby they shoulde  
acquire more estimation than by hygh  
countinaunce: and menacyng them,  
that yf the sayde fault were eslonces  
spyed in them, he woulde not onely  
exclude them from hope of all digni-  
tie, but also from the name of nobili-  
tie, and put them in the nymbre of  
the base communers: and so he lette  
them departe.

**T**his sharpe correction auailed ma-  
ny a proud hart, so that by custome of  
gentilnesse, pryde was so muche ab-  
horred throughout the citee, that if  
any man, perchaunce by a natural ha-  
bite or facion, or vnaduisedli, and not  
of a purpose, seemed to them that be-  
helde

hilde hym, to haue a proude countenance, he was eyther laughed at, or disdainefully wondred at, so that he was constrained, hadde he neuer so furdie a courage, to be ashamed.

Wherof proceded a prouerbe: Slaves and bondmen haue onely this libertie: to vse a proude countenance, because they be shamelesse: and noble men be known alway by their gentillesse.

¶ It was not longe after that the emperour lokyng out at a window of his palaice, perceiued certayne gentlemen, exercising the selues in wastlyng, rennyng, and leapyng, to whom came certayne communers of the base people, and without any signe of reverence, or askyng leaue, mingled them selues with the gentlemen, and malapertely enterprised to contende with them in those recreacions, with arrogant boastynges and wordes of presumption. And whan the gentlemen, heerynge therewith offended, hadde them bee contente with theyr degree, and elles where to passe the tyme with theyr companions and equals: the sayde communers, takyng

## IMAGE OF

kyng that in despite with countynace bragging and sturdie, prondly made aunswere: that euey of theym was better able to lyue, and had more abundaunce to vse liberalitee, and to haunt pleasures, than the beste of the other. And if the Emperours garde had not come the sooner, the communers had fought with the gentilmen, and put theym in daunger, for they were moe in noubre.

**T**his as it happened the emperour beholdyng, tooke therewith a vehement displeasure, heeyng therfore so angry, as erst he was neuer. Wherfore he caused the sayde communers to be kept in safegarde, and streightly commaunded, that nothyng that was dooen shoulde be rherled, butt he had further declared his pleasure. And forthwith he sent for the Worthe and Tribunes, and requyred theim to sende their ministers to sommon all the communers of Rome beeyng men, to bee the seconde daye for iowynge in the Theatre of Pompei, where the emperour in his owne person would also be present, and declare



elate to thepm thynges concernynge  
the most dangerous state of the weale  
publyke.

¶ The emperours commaundement  
accordyngly was executed. And a  
haulte pale made at the ende of the  
Theatre, where the emperour shoulde  
sitte in his maiestee, that all the peo-  
ple might playnely beholde, and per-  
fectly here hym.

¶ For the Theatre was a place made *Theatre.*  
in the fourme of a bowe, that hath a  
great bence. And in all the rounde  
parte were many benches one behind  
an other, and ouer an other (for it  
was narrowest benethe, and bpwarde  
growe larger and larger.) And there  
sate all the people. At the straitte ende,  
whiche was to the other parte as the  
drynge to the bowe, were the seates  
of the Senatours, and behynde them  
of the gentilmen.

¶ At the tyme appointed, the people  
beyng in the Theatre, as they were  
commaunded, the Emperour came,  
accompanied onely with the Pro-  
noste and Tribunes, leauyng all his  
garde at the gate of the Theatre.

## IMAGE OF

At his cōmyng all the people did rise,  
and with most ioyous acclamacions,  
dyd salute him: but he contrary to his  
olde custome, with a displeasante coun-  
tenaunce passed by them. Wherat thei  
were not a little abashed, and with  
herres full of a lōning dreade and con-  
stant silence, prepared theyr eares to  
here attentively, what the Emperour  
wolde say: who after he had longe be-  
holden the people, at the laste with a  
grauē countenance full of maiestee, he  
spake vnto the as hererafter foloweth

**T**he oracion of the emperour Alex-  
ander to the people of Rome,  
Capitulo. xxviii.

**V** We wote not how to begynne to  
speake vnto you, for we know  
not by what name we shall call  
you. For yf ye were Senatours, we  
woulde call you fathers: if ye were  
gentilmen, we wold call you frendes,  
if ye were as ye shoulde be, good com-  
muners, we wolde call you good peo-  
ple of Rome, as we were wont to do.  
But sens election hath not made you  
Senatours,

senators, nor nature gentlemen, nor  
your merites good communers, we be  
in no lyttle doubt what we shall call  
you. For yf we shoulde call you Ro-  
maines, we feare, leaste Romulus,  
of whom proceeded that name (if he be  
deified, as ye doe suppose) beeyng  
therewith offended, wyl be aduenged  
as well on vs as on you, for abusyng  
his gloriouse name on suche people.  
Whiche goeth aboute to dissolue this  
noble empire, destroy this citee, whi-  
che he fyrst began with his most excel-  
lent promysse and wysdome: and that  
worse is (if any thyng may be worse)  
extinct vterly the moste honourable  
and gloriouse fame of this citee and  
people thereof, whiche hath peaced  
the cloudes, flowne ouer the hyghe  
mountaines, and passed the perillous  
seas and large ryuers, ronne through  
the great desertes and wyldernes, and  
touched the furthestmost boundes  
of the worlde. We wyl therefore  
omitte to call you by any name, vntyll  
we can fynde one meete and accordyng  
vnto your merites.

¶ Berchaunce at our commyng, ye be-  
holdyng



## IMAGE OF

holdyng our countenance toward  
you more straunger than it hath byn,  
thought that we were meued with  
some priuate displeasure, for some  
thyng touchyng our person: or that  
we were altered from our late tem-  
peraunce, vnto a rirahie, conceiuing  
suspicion of our nature, by the re-  
membraunce of that monster our late  
predecessour, forasmuche as we bothe  
came of one lynage, whiche I denie  
not. Truly, if this were your fanta-  
sie, we wyl soone acquite our selfe  
therof, and sette all your myndes at a  
more libertie.

¶ We wyl say this muche vnto you,  
as touchyng our persone and familie,  
no man with woordes hath offended  
vs, no mā hath taken ought from vs,  
no man (that we knowe) hath gone  
about to betray vs: nor there is any  
other thyng priuately dooen to our  
incommoditee, that hath displeased  
vs. And as for our accustomed ma-  
ners, which did content you, we haue  
not, nor intende not to alter them. It  
ranny, as we haue euer had it in ex-  
treme detestation, so dooe we nowe  
more

most abhorre it. The corrupte nature  
of our predecessour had neuer place  
in vs. One gardeine at one tyme  
bringeth forth both poison and hol:  
some medicine. We see one woman,  
whiche by one man hath many chyl:  
dren, of theym some be fayre and per:  
sonable, some yll fauoured and cro:  
ked, some be wyse and apt unto doc:  
trine, other be fooles and dull witt:  
ed, one is couragious and hardy, in  
other is a dastarde and coward, this  
chylde is gentill and inclined to ver:  
tue, the other is fierce and wrapped  
in vyces. This is not a rare thyng,  
but in dayly experience. If this di:  
uersitie happeneth to be in one gar:  
deine, and in the generation of one fa:  
ther and also one mother: than maye  
we well escape the cause of your sus:  
picion: We and Helioabalus haue  
dyners father and dyners mothers,  
and they as dyners in theyr condic:  
ions, as ye your selues can beare wit:  
nesse, whiche haue known and seene  
proued the chaste lyuing, sanctimonie  
and prudence of our treuerend mother,  
and in what honeste and vertuous

## IMAGE OF

discipline, he hath nourished vs, and brought vs vp, vnto the tyme that by god we were called vnto this dignitie. This ought to be enough, as well to perswade you, that neither any thng concernyng our selfe hath moued vs to displeaure towarde you, as also to exclude out of your myndes all suspicion of tyranny.

**C** Now shall ye knowe the very cause why we be discontented with you.

For although we sayde at the beginnyng, that ye went about to dissolue this empire, destroy this citie, and extirpate the gloriousse fame thereof, whiche in dede is the cause of our displeasure and hemurresse, yet in those generall wordes, ye dooe not perceiue (I suppose) what we meane thereby.

Wherefore take good heede, and ye shall here it declared more specially.

**Romulus.** After Romulus had buylded this citie, he by his diuine reason considered, and (as I Doubt not) in the tyme of the buildyrge experience declared, that in a confuse multitude of people, they beyng of diuerse wyttes and condicions, yf order lacked, there mought



# GOVERN

13

thought not be a perpetuall corcorde,  
but by continua'll variaunce and discorde the people of necessitee shoulde be compelled eyther to abandone the citee, and druiding theym selues, to seke for sundry places to dwell in: or abiding there in continuall sedition, shoulde shortly and easely be subdued or destroyed by theyr neyghbours dwelling about theym. Wherefore he issuing of a gentill and noble house, excellyng the residue of the people in noble courage and finenesse of witte, fyrste deuysed and stablyshed this orde: that the companie, which he had assembled as well of theym, whiche he had brought vnto him as of those, whiche he out of dyuers parties had allured with hym, shoulde generally be called Romaynes for euer: And that of theym shoulde be three states or degrees, euery one of theym necessarie for the weale publike of his noble citee, in theyr sunnie administrations, duties and exercises.

**T**o the fyrste state he chate out of the whole congregacion one hundred of men auncient in yeres, which he

## IMAGE OF

moderation of lypynge, sobrenesse of maners and sharpenesse of witte were of the principall personages of all that noumbre. Of theym he ordeyned and stablished a counsaile, wherby the affayres of the citee, and appendaunces therof, shoulde be ruled and ministered. And these counsaillours for theyr age shoulde be called Senateurs, (for *senes* in latine are olde men) not withstanding being saluted or spoken to, they shoulde be named fathers. Also the college or company of theym was incorporate by the name of the Senate.

**Senat.**  
**101. 15.**

Moreover of this colledge shoulde be elected the great iudges and officers in the weale publyke, to whom shoulde be committed the determination of iustice, the execution of ceremonies and solemne sacrifices, and other auctorities, whiche doe belong vnto gouernaunce. Wherefore he woulde that in this state there shoulde be a maiestee: whiche of all other men shoulde be had in a singular honour and reuerence.

¶ Semblable lyke as this state was ordeyned

orderyned for counsaile and gouernance, so elected he out of the residue, whiche were lustie in yeres, valiaunte and hardie, a greater numbze, whom because in warres they shoulde be on horsebacke, he called theym Equites, and the other he called Equestris, to them shoulde chiefly pertyne the defence of the citee against the inuasion of enemies, with other small administrations, about the necessarie provisions and ornaments of this noble citee.

¶ And this state also would he haue honoured of the rest of the people.

And to the intent that they shoulde be knowne from other men, he assigned them to weare a rynge, and to beare in theyr handes iavelins, wherof afterwarde they were called Quiritēs, whiche in the olde tonge of this countrey signified speare men. Of this state shoulde be elected the Senators, whan the iuste numbze of the Senate decayed.

¶ The thyrde state was of the base people or comuners: to whom leueally shoulde not be committed any



## IMAGE OF

anethoriter, but shoulde applie theyr  
occupacions, and be readie to execute  
the statutes and ordinances made by  
the Senate: Also be obedient to the  
great officers, in that which pertain-  
ed vnto the weale publyke: More-  
ouer when warres required, that they  
shoulde goe forth, than to be obedi-  
ent and diligent at the commaundes-  
ment of their capitaynes and leaders.  
¶ This order being stablished by Ro-  
mus, as longe as in every degree it  
was duely obserued, home meruayls  
howe they did this citee prosper, yet how  
wonderfully dyd a fewe Romaines in  
regarde, not onely defende this lytle  
territorie, agaynst the great nombre  
and puissance of dyuers and sundry  
people, confedered agaynst them, but  
also beate the backe vnto theyr owne  
houses, entred into theyr citiees, de-  
spoiled them of theyr substance, and  
also compelled them not onely to de-  
syre perpetuall peace, but moreover  
at the laste to become theyr subiectes  
and tributaries: And when this  
good ordre began to be broken, your  
State aspiring to gouernance and rule,  
h  
ere

where ye were ordeyned to obey ones  
ly: what yere can ye fynde clere from  
sedicion and discorde amonge you?

Who can noumbe the Romans, whiche  
haue ben slayne in the ciuile warres  
and commocions? Who could

without teares rechte the dolorouse  
affaire of this citee in the tyme of Cin-  
na & Marius, whom for disdeine that  
ye had vnto the nobilitie, ye dyd ele-  
uate vnto the highest dignities? By

this your disorder came vnto the citee  
sundry calamities.

ye chaunge Caligula.

Caligula to be your emperour: and where  
mought there be founde a more horri-  
ble tyranne? in the whiche name he  
so muche delpyed, that lokynge in a  
glasse, he wold most diligently forme  
his bylage vnto the most terrible fas-  
cion? Also in recompence of your  
kindnesse he wysshed, that all the peo-  
ple of Rome had but one necke, that  
he mought strike it off at one stroke.

I am ashamed to reherse my prede-  
cessour and kinsman Helioabalus, Helio-  
the detestable vessel of abhominaci-  
balus.

on. But ye ought to be more aha-  
med, that ye setting aparte so greate

¶ iii

a num.

## IMAGE OF

a number of honourable personages,  
as were than in the senate, for they  
experience, wysedome, and prowesse,  
woozthre euer of theym to be emper  
rors, chafe the sayde Heliogabalus,  
a straunger borne, a boye in yeeres, a  
foole in regarde of theyr wysdome, to  
be your soueraigne lord who brought  
you to the most vile subiection that a  
ny people were in the worlde? For is  
there any thyng in mankynd so vile,  
as to be vnder the condicion of brute  
beastes? What beast can ye name,  
that wll suffer in his presence an o  
ther beast to occupie in the act of ge  
neration hit, whom he hath chosen  
for his make and companion? but to  
his power wpll resistle and fight with  
hym. Heliogabalus helde you in  
suche captiuitie, that partly to a  
uoyde his displeasure, partly to flate  
ter him, and gette somewhat of hym,  
ye not onely suffered him to abuse your  
wyues and your children, suche as  
beste lyked hym, but also increased  
your bordell houses, and with open  
eyes let your wyues and your chyl  
dren dayely and nyghtly to haunte  
thems



heim. And openly in the streets  
(whiche I abhorre to rehearse) to ap-  
prehende men, and prouoke them to  
lecherie.

I omitte for the shortnesse of time,  
many suche other elections, whiche  
haue proceeded of your grosse and pre-  
sumptuous wittes, after that ye had  
transgressed the ordie, wherein Romu-  
lus left you, and exceded the termes  
of your office or duetie: Whiche at  
the last was perceiued by you (as I  
dyd suppose) when ye bring iediousse  
of that beastly lycence, whiche that  
beaste Helioabalus gaue freely vnto  
you, hadde slayne hym and toke  
me to be your emperour, althoughe  
with all my power I refused that  
bourdeine, vntyll I was by the Se-  
nate and you constrained to take it.  
And than desyred you me to reduce  
the state of this citee vnto the fyrste  
order. Wherabout I haue trauayled  
these eyght yeres, with not a litel  
payne, studie and laboures: begyn-  
nyng at myne owne householde, to  
the intent that as well by the ex-  
ample of my seruauntes and officers,

## IMAGE OF

ye and other beyng vnder my rule, mought the sooner reforme your selues, as also that ye mought the better perceiue, and be leaſe offended with my ſeu ritee.

**C** And becauſe I dyd ſee muche ill example procede of the ſenate: alſo that ye were oppreſſed with the pride and corruption of iudges and officers, I vſing much diligence, waded them out, and diſcharged them of theyr auctorities: ne they went not unpuniſhed accordyng vnto theyr merites.

**C** I purged alſo the ſtate of gentlemen of ribauldes and riotours, and aduauuncyng therunto other, I cauſed theym to be dayely exerciſed in actes of prowefſe, oz etles to here leſſons in ſuche maner of doctrine, as thereby they mought acquire more wifedome, to be officers oz counſaylours in the weale publike. Onely the ſtate of the people I dyd not vſpyte, ſauing in puniſhment of theues: for as muche as I iudged, that ye had leaſt libertie to do any great euyll, beyng (as I ſayd) oppreſſed with tyrannie. And that thoſe vices, which were amonge you,  
lyke

lyke as they were taken by the example of your superiours, so trusted I, that by theyr punishment, the sayde ill maners shoulde be forsaken: and by the vertuous example of suche honest men, as I haue put in theyr places, good maners shoulde be as gladdely embraced.

¶ But nowe I perceiue all hath hapned contrary to mine expectation. For the sparynge of you, and the correction of my seruantes, with the warpe reformation of the Senate and gentilmen, hath brought you vnto suche a presumption and arrogancie, that ye contend to be equall w<sup>th</sup> gentilmen, vsyng no forme of reuerence vnto them, eyther that ye thinke, that I feare more your puissance, than I fauour theyr honesties: or elles that your ryches doth make you so proud, whiche ye abusyng in excessive vlturies, ye therewith deuoure the patrimonies of many younge gentilmen, and haue made theym beggers: or by the seruice of the auncient lawes of this citee, taken them in bondage, and layne theym in prons. And by  
 suche



## IMAGE OF

suche colourable ranyne, ye haue bought great possessions in Grecia, Sicile, and Spayne, wherby ye accumulate treasures and pleasures lyke to great princes.

**C**If ye thynke me to be afearde of your puissance, your opinion is false. For about all thynges I moste desyre to die for the defence of the weale publique of this noble citee: and in dede rather wyll I dye, than see the calamities, which nedes must ensue therunto, if order be not kept, as I before haue declared.

**C**At that worde all the people cried with one voyce, poutynge out teares from theyr eyes, Liue moste noble and graciouse emperor: he that woulde pour death, let hym die, lette him be rent into peeces: our puissance shall not annoye you, but vnto death shall defende you: ye haue restored vs vnto lyfe that were deade: vnto libertie, that were in thraldome: vnto honour, that were dishonoured, Lyue verriouse emperor, and what lacke ye fynde in vs, reforme it, and we shall obeye you: and he that wil resist

Or rebell, let hym be slayne and dꝛꝛ  
 wen with a hoke thorough the citee,  
 and thꝛowen into Tyber. Ye be in goꝛ  
 uernance our father, whom we chief  
 ly wyl honour: In age ye be our most  
 dereſt ſon, whom moze then our owne  
 liues we dooe fauour. And than eft  
 ſooner they cryed: Lyue moſte gentle  
 and rightuouſe emperour.

**C**reat the emperour relented, and  
 with muche peine receyved the teares  
 of his eyes: And after he had ſettled  
 his ſpꝛytes and countenance, he ſpake  
 than vnto theym in this wyſe: I am  
 well contente that ye haue declared,  
 that there is yet in you ſome porcion  
 of vertue, whiche gꝛueth me hope,  
 that neyther the noble renoume of  
 this citee begunne by *Romulus*, and  
 augmented by other honoutable goꝛ  
 uernours: Nor my labours in re  
 ſtoꝛyng therof, whan it was decayed,  
 and lykely to perſhe, ſhall fall into  
 ruine. But if ye be conſtant in this  
 affection, I truſt that ryght ſhortly  
 by the publyke weale ſhall flouriſhe,  
 and that this ſayde citee and peo  
 ple ſhall bee in as muche eſtimate  
 cion as

## I M A G E O F

cion as sure it was in the tyme of any  
 of our progenitors. And now haue  
 I found againe your old name, wher-  
 by I wyll call you: becholden and  
 successors of the vertuous Romas-  
 nes, I say you most victorious peo-  
 ple, branches of Romulus, subduers  
 of realmes, samplers of vertue and  
 prouers to all the worlde. mitigate  
 your conetouse appetites, expell from  
 you auarice, auale your hyghe coura-  
 ges. I meane in exceeding the boundes  
 of your popular state, and comparing  
 your selves w<sup>th</sup> your superiours, be  
 charitable and mercifull to your owne  
 countrey men, where theyr necessitee  
 maye bee relieved with your abun-  
 dance. Be you ashamed, that peo-  
 ple of other countreys, people barbar-  
 tous and rude, should condemne you  
 of crueltie, for destroying your gen-  
 tlemen, the chiefe ornamente and de-  
 fence of this noble citie: that they  
 should reproche you of rudenesse and  
 pride, in omitting to dooe reuerence  
 to theym, whiche dooe in order exceed  
 you. Remember, that lyke as if the  
 state of senators dooe decaye, of the  
 gentils



Gentilmen are elected into the Senate  
 suche as be vertuous: so ye that shall  
 be founde equall to them in vertue,  
 (for your substance onely can not  
 make you genyall) shall be aduanced  
 to the state of gentilmen accordyng to  
 reason. Than consider, yf ye woulde  
 not than also requyre to be preferred  
 in reuerence.

¶ Rorhyng shall more cause a man  
 wyllyngly to dooe his dutie, than to  
 thinke what he would requyre of him  
 that is inferiour vnto hym. And it  
 hath been sayde of wyse men, that he  
 whiche would be a ruler, should first  
 learne to be a good subiect. For true-  
 ly a proude and couetouse subiecte,  
 shall neuer be a gentill and temperate  
 gouernour.

¶ Now haue I no more to say to you  
 but apply your selues with good wil-  
 les to restore this citee to the auncient  
 and most laudable ordie, as I shall  
 endeavour my selfe by exemple and dis-  
 ligence, to bringe it eerseloones vnto  
 his perfection,

¶ Thus ended the emperours oraci-  
 on, and therewith he arose and depart-  
 ed

## IMAGE OF

sed, al the people pursning hym with  
this acclamacion: The goddess im-  
mortall keepe and defende you moste  
noble emperour. Ye are the crowne  
of our glorie, of our wealth and pro-  
speritee: hated be he of goddess and  
of men that woulde you displeasure.  
Doe what best lyketh you, the gods  
immortall defende you.

The sceritee that the emperour A-  
lexander vsed in chastising as wel the  
pyde of the people, as also his  
men of warre or souldyours.

### Capitulo. xxi.

**A**fter that the emperour was re-  
turned home to his palace, he  
decreed, that the sayd commu-  
ners shoulde be deprived of theyr ly-  
bertee and name of Romaines, and to  
be deliuered as bondemen vnto the  
saide gentilmen, with whom they pre-  
sumptuously had contended, and so  
to remayne in that state, excepte they  
redeeme theym selues by making the  
sayde gentilmen, in possessions and  
moueables, better than they them sel-  
ues were, whan they contended (for in

deede the sayde comuners were be-  
rie riche men, ( as well in substance  
mouable, as yeerely reuenues ) that  
doen, they should be esclones restored  
vnto theyr libertie, addyng thereto,  
that it shoulde not be leefull vnto the  
sayde gentlmen, to infranchise them  
in any other condicion. Finally the  
sayde cōmuners abhorring seruitude,  
incontinent redeemed theyr heades,  
accordyng to the emperours decrees.  
Whiche exemple was founde after-  
warde so profitable to the weale pu-  
blike, in retaining the auncient order,  
and restraynyng sedicion, which be-  
fore that tyme now and than hapned,  
that it was thought of all men, that  
there was neuer decree or lawe made  
that was moze beneficiall vnto the  
citee. And the emperour was ther-  
fore not onely feared, but also moze  
honoured and loued of all the people,  
which were good citisins and chiefly  
faouered the weale of theyr countrey.  
¶ Like seruittee he vsed to all other *Ramparts,*  
states, as partly it is before reher- *46.*  
sed, and partly I wyll now briefly  
declare. He so heard the complaints



## IMAGE OF

of souldiours againste their capitaynes, that if he found any capitaine in fault, he punished hym accordynge to the qualitee of the acte, without purpose to pardone hym.

*Amptst.  
us.*

**T**hyke austeritee he vbled to theim that serued hym in warres. For on a tyme whan he heard that one of the had doen wronge to a poore olde woman, he discharged hym of his retainer, and gaue hym to the woman to be her bondman, that he beyng a carpenter, shulde with his crafte and labours relieue her. And whan the residue of the souldiers were therewith greued, he perswaded them to be therewith contented, and did put them in feare to grudge at it. Oftentymes he discharged whole legions, neuer fearyng his armie, for as muche as neuer man coulde reprove hym, that in his lyfe any capitaine or petite capitaine toke or detained any thyng of theyr souldiours wages. Whan he came to the citee of Antioche, his men of warre fell to wantonnesse, hauntyng womens baines, and other riotous pastimes: which beyng brought to his

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m

to his care, he caused theim all to be apprehended and put in prison, whiche being known to theim, whiche were of the fellowship of those that were taken, they beganne to make a commocion: Then the emperor went to the place of iudgement, and caused the prisoners to bee brought before him, the residue of men of warre standing all armed about hym. And then beganne he in this wyse: Companions in armes (so that the actes of your felowes dooe discontente you) The discipline lefte to vs by our ancestors, mainteinerh and keperh the weale publike, the whiche if it be let to decaye, we shall lose as well the name of Romaines, as also the empire. We may not suffre thynges to be dooen, which late were supported by that vncleane beast Helioabalus. The Romaine souldyours your felowes, and my companions in warre, they haunt brothelles, rauernes, and baines in the greke facion, and thereto one prouokerh an other: Shall I suffre this any longer, and not strike of theyr heades? Therewith arose a

¶

great

## IMAGE OF

great rumour and noise in the people.  
Then sayde he againe: ye that be  
here, crie out whan it is necessarie in  
battaile against your enemies, not a-  
gainst your emperour and soueraigne  
lord. I dare say your captains taught  
you to vse those cries against the Ho-  
lones, Germanes, and Persians,  
not agaynst hym that hath geuen to  
you meate, liuerie, and wages.  
Cease therfore of your terrible cries,  
whiche onely be necessarie in warre  
and battayle, least that I with one  
mouthe and one voyce discharge you  
Romaines: and yet I doubt whe-  
ther I maye so call you. For ye  
be not woorthy to be of the people of  
Rome, if ye know not the lawe of the  
Romaines. And whan they cryed  
lowder, and also menaced hym with  
theyr weapons, he eftsones sayde to  
them: Putte downe your handes,  
whiche if ye be valiaunt, ye shoulde  
aduaunce against your enemies: for  
these thynges dooc make me nothyng  
afearde. And yf ye slea any man,  
the public weale, the Senate, and  
people wyll not sayle for to reuenge



bs. But whan they brauled and murmured neuer the later, he cried to the with an high voice, saying: Get you hens Romans, & put of your harness. ¶ A wonderfu lexemple, they al putting of theyr harneise and souldiours cotes, departed euery man to his lodgynge.

¶ There was it perceiued, howe much his seueritte profyted. Than the emperours gard brought all the standerdes into the campe, and the people theim selves brought all theyr armure to the emperours palaice.

And the legion, which he had discharged, after that he was sued vnto. xxx. dayes befoze he went towarde Persia, he estelones restored into his place, and by theyr prowesse most specially, he afterwarde vanquished his enemies. Notwithstanding er he departed, he commaunded all the capitaines of the sayde legion to be beheaded, because that throughe theyr negligence, the souldyours passed theyr tyme yottousely in a place of excellent pleasure, called Daphnia, and had made the sedicion, they

## IMAGE OF Wynkyng at it.

**H**ow the emperour Alexander re-  
fourmed the vsurie, whercof he  
spake afore in his oraciō made  
to the people. Cap. xxx.

**S**Done after that Alexander had  
chastised the pryde of the com-  
mon people of Rome, as before is  
reherfed, he hym selfe came into the  
Senate, and there declared the sun-  
drie inconueniences, which had hap-  
ned, as well to the citee, as vnto the  
countreys thereunto subiecte, by the  
detestable practise of vsurie, which  
utterly repugneth against all huma-  
nitye, charitie, and naturall beneuo-  
lence, that ought to be amonge peo-  
ple, that dooe liue in a mutuall con-  
corde: but moſte ſpecially amonge  
them, whiche liue vnder one obe-  
dience, vnder one law or pollicie. The  
inconueniences, which happened, he  
ſhewed to be theſe. Fyſt where the  
gentilmen, and the moze part of men  
of warre, were from theyr cradelles  
brought vp in idelneſſe, being not in-  
ſtructed

structed in any occupation or science, saulfe onely in feates perteynyng to warre. In the tyme of peate and tranquillites, or whan the warres be not so greate, that they requyre the whole puissaunce of Rome, than they whiche be not sent forth to battaile, some do passe theyr tyme in daliaunce and banketrynge with wanton women, or at dyce, and other chargious solasyng, or in both with the one and the other, shortly consumyng theyr substance: Some dooe delyte in other excessive pleasures, as to haue great and beautifull houses, large and ample orchardes, and walkes inclosed with high and stronge walles, great pondes and meeres, conueighyng therunto by a longe distaunce the salt water through rockes and mountaines, and to haue in theim diuers straunge kyndes of fyslhes. In the which enterpryses, they also haue not ouely consumed theyr goodes and patrimonie, but also the woozke aboue their expectacion, ferre exceeding their power, they haue ben constrained to bozow great summes of money.

¶ iiii

¶ Other



## IMAGE OF

Other there haue ben, whiche of an ambitious courage, haue vsed prodigall expenses, as well in continuall feastes and bankettes, as in distributions of great summes of money amonge the people, and geuyng great rewardes to corrupte Senatours and other great officers, to attayne before theyr tyme, or not beyng woorthye, to some hygh place or dignitee: wherby they beyng broughte into povertee, haue been also constrained to seeke helpe of other, to maintayne theyr folly. All these persones howe vnprofitable they be vnto the weale publike, reporte me vnto you, specially yf ye conyder also, that whan they haue borrowed so much, and the summes borrowed beeyng so increased by vsure, that they be not onely in desperation to borrowe any more of theyr creditours, but also in the state to be greuousely punished according to the lawes: than desyre they some alteration in the weale publike, than fyll they out the ambitiousse courages of them, which are in auctoritee, and betweene whom of the noble men is enui,

enue, disdeigne or private displeasure, than seeke they matter of sedition within the citie, which not being wisely repressed, hath at his backe division of parties, ciuile commotions, oftentimes battayle and destruction of people. Reade the histories of Rome, and see how often they called for newe tables, that is to say, that the instrumentes & obligations made for debt, shuld be cancelled, and those debtes acquyted: and vnyll it was dooen, the commotion ceased not.

¶ Now se ye, that the chiefe cause of this inconuenience, was the sayd pernitent practise of vsurie, whiche as the occupiers did see the wantonnesse and prodigalitee of the nobilitie, gentlemen, and other increase, so did they augment it, more esteemyng theyr private lucre than the weale publike, charitee, beneuolence, or naturall humanitee. Wherefore in my iudgement suche vsurers amonge the Romaines ought not to be noumbred: but if they be not wyllyngly reformed, they shuld be taken and vsed as pernicious enemies vnto vs all.

¶

Here

## IMAGE OF

**C** Here al the Senate, except a few,  
 with one voice commēded the zelous  
 entent of the emperour, and offered  
 theyr consentes in makynge suche a  
 law, as should seeme to the emperour  
 and theim expedient, for the redressse  
 of so great an enozmittee. Than one  
 Catelius, a noble Senatour, & a man  
 of great vertue, sayde in this wyse:  
 Mine opinion is (noble emperour and  
 reuerende fathers) that no kynd of  
 vsurie shall be here practised within  
 this citee, but fyrst I would that ser-  
 che be made diligently, howe many  
 Romaines, and who they be, whiche  
 are entred into bondes, for the pay-  
 ment of vsurie: And likewise who be  
 the creditours. And the principall  
 debte beyng knowen, the creditours  
 to be compelled by an Edict of your  
 maiestee, to holde them content with  
 repayment of the summe or value of  
 the thyng that they lende. And than  
 by an ordinance of this counsaile, the  
 sayd principal debtes to be payed out  
 of the treasure of the citee, the deb-  
 tours bringynge in pawne or suretie  
 to repay it within five yeres vnto the  
 treasouries.

The sen-  
 tence of  
 Catelius.

Also



**A**lso that no man shall lend money or any thyng els, whiche the debtour shall be constrained to chynge into money to serue his commoditee, vpon any condicio, bargaine, or promise to haue lucre by the sayd lone. And yf that he dooe, all his mouables to be immediately forfayted to the common treasourie.

**M**oreouer, if any Romaine shall happen to be in necessitee, by any misfortune or casualltee, or by necessarie charges, whiche he could not escape, that he shoulde come to the prouoste of the citee and treasourers, bringing with hym one Senatour, and two of the people, men not suspected of infamie, whiche shall sweare by the gods preseruators of the citee of Rome, that they knowe, that the necessitee dooeth not procede of the sayd ill occasions: That dooen, he shall laye in his sufficient pawne, or bringe in twoo hable persons to vnderake for the repayment of the money, whiche he wyll borrow: the treasourers shall deliuer so much to him as to the prouoste and them shall seeme to be sufficient

## IMAGE OF

cient for his necessitee.

**A**nd if any other man wyl beneuolently lende them that, whiche they wyl desyre, without praisse of vsurie, if the borower hath consumed his gooddes in such folly as before is declared: that than he shall not be charged with the repayment of that that he borrowed, but that the creditour be clerely excluded from thensefoorth, to haue for his sayde lone any maner of remedie. But if constrainct or misfortune dooe cause the necessitee, and any man lende to an other for a beneuolente charitee, without any colour of vsurie: than if the debtour neglect the repayment therof, and wyllyngly let the daye passe whan it ought to be payed: than he without merce to susteine the rygour of the common lawes of the citee.

**A**nd so this lawe beyng well executed and neuer omitted, we shall neyther haue vsurour dwell in this citee, nor gentilmen landlesse, nor persons sedicious, whiche shall be able to annoy the vniuersall weale publyke.

**N**ow ye haue heard mine opinion,  
whereto

whereto ye maye adde or make some  
thyng lesse, as it shall seeme beste to  
pout excellent wisedomes.

¶ Than the emperour despyred Gordian, an auncient senatour, who is named before, to shew his opinion, and he risen out of his place, pausynge a lyttle, sayde in this wyse.

¶ I learned, whan I was yonge, no: The Sentence of Gordian. Counsaile in making of lawes.  
ble emperour and fathers, that he  
which shall geue counsaile, specially  
to the making of lawes, ought to con  
sider. iiii. thynges. That his coun  
saile be honest, that it be necessarie,  
profytable and possible. Three of  
them haue been remembred by Catel  
us Seuerus, the fourth it semeth that  
he had forgotten. I dooe well agree,  
that the thyng that he woulde haue  
doone is charitable: and therfore is  
honest, also that it is necessary to re  
presse the riottouse and prodigall ly  
uing of gentlemen: it is profitablen  
to the weale publike, to haue all oc  
casions of sedicion, and seedes of  
warre ciuile to be extirpate. And trul  
ly no better deuise may be found, then  
Catelius, accor dyng to his great lear  
nyng



## IMAGE OF

nyng and wisdom, hath right well declared. But let vs see, if the reliefe appointed by Catellus, for the whom he nameth worthy to haue it, shall be alway certayne and possible. And if not, than must we in neede therof, finde some other prouision more certayne, though it be not so easie, that good men in theyr vnwyllyng necessitie be not disapointed.

\* Is it possible to wyse, that the common treasure shall be alwaye abundant, that is to say, able to furnishe all thynges necessarie for the weale publike, and in the ouerplus to be also sufficient to relieue the sayde priuate necessities? Consyder the greatnesse of this noble empire, the great nymbre of realmes, countreys, and citiees, whom the prowesse of our noble auncetours hath by force constrained to be subiecte vnto vs, and by force we kepe and receyue theym. I thinke you, that they all will euer remayne in peace and tranquillitee? Doe you not knowe, that al liuyng thinges desyre libertee, and mankind most specially? Remembre you not, that  
that

that w<sup>th</sup>l consigned, seeketh euer  
 oportunitie to aspye of his colar?  
 Forgette you, that almost yesterd<sup>y</sup>  
 the Moores began to rebell, and had  
 shaken of their yoke, had they not ben  
 quickly repressed by **Furius Celsus**?  
 Also the great countrey of **Illiria**,  
 from whence we haue our chiefe men  
 of warre, made late a commocion,  
 which had ben no small daunger and  
 losse to this empire: had they not ben  
 valiantly and wysely pacified and  
 brought in good order, by the noble  
 capitaine **Marius Macrinus**, kinsma<sup>n</sup>  
 vnto your maiestee most noble empe-  
 rour. **Armenia** was in peryll to bee  
 lost, if it had not been well defended  
 bi the prowesse of **Junius Salinarus**.  
 And it is doubted of some, whether,  
 the **Germanis** wyl continue the leage  
 that they made with vs. It is pry-  
 uily muttered among the people, that  
**Artaxerxes** kyng of **Persia**, dooeth  
 gather muche people and treasure, in-  
 tending not onely to subdue all **Ar-**  
**menia**, but also the whole countrey of  
**Asia**, vnto the sea or **Proporis**, which  
 deuidenth **Asia** fro **Europa**, claimyng  
 it in

## IMAGE OF

It in the auncient right of the Kinges  
of Persia. What other people wyl  
doe, we be vncertaine: As vncertaine  
be we, what treasure wyl be sufficient  
to furnyſhe all thynges necessarie a-  
gainſt thoſe perilles. Ye we be not ſo  
ſure of our prouinces and aunciente  
Dominions, from whens we haue our  
yerely reuenues, pensions, and tribu-  
tes: but yf other rebell, and preuaile  
againſt vs, (whiche the goddes for-  
bedde) puiſſaunce faylyng vs, & good  
fortune forſakyn vs, it is to be ſup-  
poſed, that they wyl rather paye no-  
thyng: than ought, be alſo gouerned  
rather by theyr owne countrey men,  
than by vs that be ſtraungers.

**T**han what haue we leſte vs to  
kepe this noble citee, to defende vs,  
our children, our wiues, the temples,  
and altars of goddes immortal, if  
our common treasure be not riche and  
abundaunt, wherewith we may gette  
ſuccours in ſome place, prouide vitai-  
les ſufficient, and ſtrongely fortifie  
our munitions and fortrefſes? Alſo  
we be not ſure, where warre ſhall aſ-  
ſaile vs, eyther by lande or by ſea, if  
it haps



It happen to be by the land, yet know we not, whether it shall be in diuers countreys or one: if in sundry countreys, than muste we haue dyuers armies, and dyuers provisions, accordyng as the state of the countreys requircth, some beyng feruently hotte, some excedyng in colde, the one ful of mountaynes vnapt for cariage, the other thicke of woodes: this lackynge freshe water, that drowned in fennes. If it be on the water, then be the charges greater and muche more vncertaine, shippes with theyr takeling and ordinaunce aboue all other thinges beyng most costely, and oftentimes ere theyr ennemies meete them, they bee eyther deuoured with stormes, or by contrary wyndes constrained to renne on quicke sandes or rockes. Wherefore we muste alway haue a great noumbre of shippes in makynge, and a great noumbre of persones retygned to furnishe theim.

**T**h I wyl not omitte the most necessarie provision of graine for this citee, whiche oftentymes by scarcitee in the

## IMAGE OF

countreys adioynnyng vnto vs, wee haue ben compelled to make in countreys farre distant from vs at veray high prices: whiche if the lyke necessities happen vnto vs, vndoubtedly it wyll exhaust wonderfull treasours.

These thynges considered, it shall seeme (I doubt not) expedient, that the common treasure remayne alwaye vntouched, but onely for commune necessitye, the incertaintee wherof proueth it impossible, that the common treasure shall be euer sufficient to relieue the priuate necessitye of the that are spoken of, sence misfortune, and other constrained meanes vnto pouertee, shall euery day happen to some man. Wherfore now let vs deuise a more certaine prouision.

¶ And truly fewe men haue so much compassion and charitee (the more pitie is it) that they wyll lende their goodes to an other man, haue they neuer so muche, excepte thereby may returne to the some aduantage or profit. And to constrainne them to lend (except it were for defence of the weale publike) it were against iustice. Wherfore

foze finally this is my sentence, let a certaine gaine be limited by the emperours maiestee, which being thought by vs tollerable to the borrower, and competently sufficient vnto the creditour, let it be declared by the Tribunes vnto the people, with the residue, whiche was indifferently and wisely deuised by Catellius Seuerus. And I doubt not, but that it wyl lightly passe & be inacted by all their voices.

¶ This oracion and sentence of Bozdiane was well commended, as well of the emperour, as of all the senate. In conclusion, after a little debating it was appoincted by the emperour, that the creditours shoulde haue for the forbearing of euery Sesterium, (whiche in Englyshe money of olde grotes, wherof. viii. made an ounce, amounteth to .iiii. li. xvi s. viii. d.) for euery day lone, the thyrde parte of As, called Triens, which was the thirde parte of an old Romaine penie called in latine Denarius, which was the poise of an old english grote: and so the vsurie for the whole yere amounted in Romaine money to, xii. d.

Sesterium

As, Triens.  
Denarius



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one As, and .ii. Trientes, in accompt of English money .xii. grotes, the tenth parte of a grote, and two partes of a tenth parte deuyded in three partes, whiche summe mought be more easily coumpted by the Romaynes, whiche had the sayde small money Trientes coigned, than by vs that haue no suche money. Notwithstandyng for as muche as it well appeareth, that the gaine by the lone of one hundred poundes sterlyng by the whole yere, amounted not by this rekenyng but to .iiii. li. xii. d. and the thirde part of a grote, or there about, comptyng by the olde grotes, wherof went but .viii. to the ounce, of the money currant, wherof dooe goe .xi. grotes to the ounce: the vsury amounteth to. v. li. x. s. vii. ob. or there about, whiche wyll seeme to al men, not beyng vsurers, to be agayne sufficient and reasonable. But nowe to retourne to our matter.

**T**his sentence of the emperour and senate beyng declared by the Tribunes, as it was appoynted, all the people with most ioyous spirites, and as loude

## GOVERN. 20

loude as they coulde crie, consented, that it shoulde be made a lawe perpetual in euery poyncte, accordynge as the emperour and Senate before had deuyled it. Wherupon incontynent the acte was drawen and publyshed, as hereafter foloweth.

¶ The lawe concernynge bluries, made by the emperour, senate and people of Rome. Ca. xxxi.

**N**ecessitie be considered from hencefoorth in theim that consume theyr substance in dice playing, outragious expenses, or lecherie: Who so ever lendeth to them, let it be at his ieopardie and without hope of remedie.

¶ Whom fortune peruerse, longe sickness, seruice, frendshippe, disloyaltye of theym that be trusted, theues or oppresseours haue brought unto povertie, to hym let men extend theiur compassion and charitee: or if his necessitie doe constraigne hym to borrowe, lette him come to the prouost of the citee, and declare his necessitie, and wherof it proceded, hauing  
with

## IMAGE OF

With hym one Senatour, and two of the communers, persons wel knowne and credible, whiche beyng deposed, that his woordes be true and vnfet-  
gued, and what they suppose shall be sufficient to relieue his necessitee, the prouoste shall assigne one ryche man of the citee, yf the partie him selfe name not an other, to whō, or to him that is named, the prouoste shall directe his letter in the name of the senate and people, wylling hym to deli-  
uer to the sayde person, the sum that he needeth, takynge of him sufficient suretie for the repayment of the sum that he lent, with the increase for euery day sparinge of one Sesterrium xii. Romaine pence, one As, and two Trientes, and so after that rate in al other summes aboue the summe of Sesterrium, and not to exceede that gaine in any maner condicion.

**H**e that refuseth to lende for this gaine, let him as vnwoorthy the name of a Romaine, or to take any benefite by the weale publyke, be of the Cens-  
sors depriued of the name of a citsen, and noted for euer with the crime of  
ingras



Ingratude.

**T**his lawe decreed by the Senate, enacted by the people, confirmed by the imperiall maiestie, be for euer established, and neuer by any other lawe, custome, or ordinance to be abolished. And who that with violence resisteth against it, let him be taken for rebell and ennemie vnto the weale publyke.

**W**hat loue and beneuolence the emperour shewed to the people of Rome, and of other his wonderfull vertues, Cap. xxxii.

**Y**e haue hearde muche declared of the vertuose seruice or sharpnesse of this noble emperour Alexander, nowe shall you here as muche of his gentilnesse, patience, and affabilitie.

**A**fter the sayde acte was proclaymed throughout Rome and Italie, the emperour calling to his remembrance, that the sayd lawe was made onely for them, which hereafter shuld be constrained to borrowe, and that

¶ iii

there

## IMAGE OF

there were many at that tyme in danger, whom by that acte shoulde take no benefite, he beyng moued with pittie, caused sodeinly letche to be made by the Censors, howe many were in the daunger of vsurie. And than sent he for all the vsurers, and after that he had a litle blamed them for their auarice and ingratitude towarde theyr countrey, at the lasse, altering his countenaunce and speecche vnto a moze mildenesse, he desyred theym all at his contemplacion, to take for that tyme theyr principal summe that was bozowed, and clerely to remitte all the residue, promisyng, that the money shoulde be payed to them out of his treasure. Whiche request of the Emperour was pronounced in so gentill a facion, that the creditors with one voice not only granted vnto it, but also promysed to remitte part by his arbitrement, where he thought conuenient. Which the emperour moste thankfully takinge, gaue the creditours leaue to departe, commaundynge theym to kepe the thyng secret, vntill they knew more  
of

of his pleasure.

**T**han commaunded he, that al such  
 as were conne in the daunger of  
 vsurie, shoulde be warned to come be-  
 fore hym, not at one day or tyme, but  
 first they, whiche were repured and  
 known to be men of honestie, and  
 by some misaduenture were broughe  
 vnto pouertee. And beyng truly  
 certified, what gooddes or landes  
 they had in possession, he remembred  
 to them what perill they were in, and  
 lamented the state of the citee, that  
 the gentilmen, by negligence or lacke  
 of good housbandrie, shoulde be in  
 bondage and captiuitie vnto the com-  
 muners, whiche ought to be inferi-  
 ours to theym, and do to them reue-  
 rence. O layde he, where is the noble  
 courage of Romulus progenie? Who  
 foloweth Quincius, Publicola, Cu-  
 rius, Fabritius, noble Senatours?  
 Whiche after that they hadde vain-  
 quished princes, and atchieued sun-  
 drie great victories, been diuerse ti-  
 mes Consules and Dictatours, the  
 highest dignities within this citee,  
 they lyued so moderately, that rather  
 than



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than they woulde be subiectes to the auarice of other, they chase to liue in pooze houses of hulbandrie out of the citie, with a portte ful of woztes, and suche a small a pitaunce for them and their wiues, as nowe our seruauntes woulde disdeigne to be fedde with.

And lest abundance at any tyme, shuld prouoke them to liue moze delicately, they refused not onely great summes of money sent to them by straungers, but also possessions offered them by the Senate and people, for theyr endeavour and laboures aboute the weale publike.

**E** Thus I saye vnto you, whom although misaduenture, or charges enforced, haue exhaust some or the moze parte of your substaunce or patrimony, yet haue ye not therefore abared your diete, nor absteigned from pleasures, nor minished your familie: but without vsyng good hulbandrie, and without circumspection, haue contrary to the sayd honourable senatours, chosen rather to spende your olde age in miserie, and to be in bondage vnto your inferiours, than ye wold receiue  
in captiue

in captiuitie your wanton appetites.

**C** But here, when the emperour perceived, that they were ashamed and made heuie countenaunce, than sayde he vnto theym: Would ye not gladly be eftesoones at libertie, at the leaste waye out of the daunger of vsurie?

They with a voice moste lamentable answered: ye noble emperour.

Wyll ye (sayde he) with good wyll paye to your creditours the principall duetie, hauyng tyme conuenient, that it maye be leuied of your possessions, hauyng lefte vnto you some porcion to lyue on? They answered: ye noble prince, elles were we unhappie.

Notwithstandyng among them were some, and not many, whiche had not lefte eyther goodes or possessions to pay the whole duetie. Than the emperour withdrew hym into his chambre, and caused them seuerally to be brought vnto hym one after an other, and accordyng to theyr substaunce in possessions or mouables, he rated the to paye of the principall debte, some all, some moze, and some lesse. And because they had not the money than  
redie,

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redie, he promising to discharge them of the sayd paymientes by theyr consentes, assigned to them, which had possessions, two partes thereof, and the thirde part he reserued to him selfe vntill the summe were thereof receyued: Wherto they were rated.

Of theym that had gooddes and no possessions, he appoincted that the summe, wherunto they were rated, shoulde be valued in the sayde manors by theyr owne friendes, and be brought vnto some place, wher by the emperours officers it shoulde be receyued. And ere they departed, he caused in theyr presence, euery summe to be secretly tolde out of his cofers.

And than sente he for all the creditors, and puttyng them in remembrance of theyr gentill promise made vnto hym, and declaryng also what he had dooen: he caused euery mans porcion accordyng to the saide rate to be deliuered vnto theym. And

for them whiche had neither good nor possessions, he payed halfe of the principall debte out of his owne cofers, with a cleare acquitaunce vnto the  
the



the partie. And commaundynge the creditours, to brynge to hym cancelled the obligacions and instrumentes belongynge to the sayde duities, and geuyng to theym hertie thanks, he let them departe.

¶ Semblably perswadyng the debtours to frugalitee or moderate lpyng, he also prayed them to foresee as muche as they coulde, that wilfully they committe not them selues to the hasardes of fortune: he than imbrasyng theym all, badde them face well: who geuyng to hym most humble thanks, and for ioye pouring out abundance of teares, departed with glad tydynge home to theyr houses.

¶ As for theim, whiche at dice playng, in riotte and lechery, had consumed theyr substance, he if any were debtors. Dispyng lefte, caused it to be valewed, as wel possessions as mouables, and to bee deuyled amonge theyr creditours, accordyng to the quantitee of the trewe debte: And in satisfaction of the remnaunt, he adiudged them bonde: So that for a certeyne tyme, as the Emperour woulde apporcion hym, haunyng

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haupng regarde to the debte, he shuld serue one creditour, and afterwarde an other, in most vile seruices, receiuyng therefore nothyng, but onely meate, drinke, and clothing, belongyng to slaues. And that the creditours shoulde haue ouer theym equality as muche auctorite as they had ouer theim, which they had bought or taken in battayle. Notwithstandinge it was at the libertie of the creditours, to aquite them of theyr seruice, but not to infranchise theym, vntyll the tyme were expired, which was by the emperour appoynted: but during that tyme, they were continually the habite or apparayle assigned to bond men, he were esteemed for Romaines, nor enioyed any priuilege.

**C**If they obediently serued and contented theyr creditours, at the end of the terme, whiche the emperour appoynted they were set at libertie, and restored to theyr fynde estate and condition.

**B**ut if they fledde from theyr matter, or contemptuously withstode his commaundmentes, fighting with him

or do-

or doyng to hym any notable iniurie,  
they were condemned to perpetuall  
seruitude durynge theyr lyues. They  
whiche had left nothyng to pay their  
creditours, to theym be appoynted a  
longer captaiue, estemyng the value  
of his seruice as well to the facultee  
of the person as to his estate and con-  
dicion. As if he were veray wittie,  
well learned, or a perfect artificer, by  
reason wherof his seruice moughte  
seeme very commodious or profita-  
ble. Also beyng a gentelman, the  
more estimation that he were of, the  
more greivouse and odious to hym  
shuld be his seruice and punishment:  
Wherefore to the one and the other,  
lesse tyme was thought to be suffici-  
ent, than to the which were of grosse  
witte, or ignozant of good occupaci-  
on, or elles base or vile of condicion.  
¶ This ordinaunce beyng put in due  
execucion: it was thought at the first  
of some men to be veray cruell: but  
after that it was once perceyued,  
what a meruaylous frugalitee or es-  
peraunce of luyngge, was suddenly  
founde, as well in the citie of Rome,  
as al:



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as also through out all Italie: Also what delite men toke to be seen them selves moderate in apparayle, honest in luyng, also exercisynge theym selves in pastimes conuenient, not dishonest or chargeous. Also to haue them in derision, whom they found in any maner of wise attempting the contrarie. Then extolled they the excellent witte and vertue of the moste noble emperour. And where afore they called hym cruell & tyrannous, they ceased not to name him equal to the goddes, most benigne and most gracious, confessynge, that had not ben his seruictee, they all with the luite and empire had vicerly perished.

¶ Of the circumspect curiositee of the emperour Alexander in admittynge counsaylours. And of his answers touchynge that matter. Capitulo. xxxiii.

**T**he incomparable diligence of this noble emperour about the weale publyke, is to be meruayled at, and of all princes to be observed and folowed. For what by his  
owne

done trauaile and excellent prudence,  
 what by his continuall scrutinie by  
 wise and honest espialles, he assured-  
 ly knew the qualitees, maners, & appe-  
 tites of all men (excepte veray fewe)  
 dwelling in Rome or Italie, whiche  
 eyther by reason of theyr possessions  
 or substance, or for any other estima-  
 cion amonge theyr neyghbours, were  
 lykely to be called to some auctoritee.  
 Also of all those, whiche in other re-  
 gions and prouinces, were for some  
 cause notable or famouse. This know-  
 lage caused hym to be circumspect in  
 admittynge counsaylours and other  
 great officers. As amonge many exem-  
 ples I wyll declare one, wherof I my  
 selfe can beare witnesse.

¶ After the death of Quintilius Mar-  
 cellus, a man in great auctoritie about  
 the emperour, as he was well woo-  
 thie for his singular wysedome and  
 vertue (in so muche as it was  
 thought, that there was neuer a bet-  
 ter man bozne in Rome, and therfore  
 the emperour did extremely lamente  
 his death) the noble man Frontine,  
 whom also the emperour entirely lo-

S

ued,

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ued; awayting his tyme, aduanced to hym with a commendable reporte an honourable personage, who was named Fabius Maximus, to be in the place of Marcellus.

¶ After the emperour had herde and well considered the wordes of Frontinus, wherby was set forth the ancient stocke from whence Fabius descended, his great possessions and substance, the grauitie of his personage, his great experience in sundry auctorities: the emperour did cast on Frontine a displeasaunt countenance, and after that he ceased to speake, the emperour made aunswere in this wyse: How much hath your iudgement deceiued vs Frontine? how could ye this lōge distēble with vs, I had thought that ye had euer esteemed the stocke by the fruite, and not the fruite by the stocke. No man commendeth the boughes or brāunches, because the stemme of the tree is great, longe, or freight: but if they be wel spreading, thicke of greene leaues, and well set with good fruite, than men say, that tree hath a faire toppe, that tree beareth



reth good fruite. And although the tree be neuer so misshapen or crooked, the owner wyll digge about it, and vse al diligence for to preserue it: but if the stocke be neuer so fayre, yf the boughes be rotten or scare, the owner will shredde them, and throw them into the fire. If the fruite be vnsauerie or withered, who taketh any great heede of the tree? who wyll gather the fruite? But rather lette them rotte on the tree, or fal downe: for he careth not for them. Who loveth a rotten ground sill or posse, because it was part of an ancient house? Who setteth by a ragged, a restie, or ill fauoured colt, because that the harreise, wherof that kinde is comen, two hundred yeres passed wanne the price of rennyng at the game of Olympus? I confesse, that longe continuance in any thyng that is good, addeth an admiration, but no praise to the thyng: al be it, the thing fownden good, prayseth the countinaunce or longe enduryng therof. A good childe renneth and also augmenteth the praise of his parentes: the ill child

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rafeth out of mens hertes the fathers  
houour and benefites.

**Discreet  
ous.**

**A**lso great possessions of substance  
maketh vertue suspected, because they  
be ministers of pleasaunt affections, &  
also nourices of wanton appetites.

**A** moreouer the grauitie of the per-  
sonage is not proued by stately coun-  
tenaunce or disdeignefull silence: but  
by constaunce in vertue, and wordes  
alway apte for the time and purpose.  
And experiēce, which is not comēded  
by laudable actes, deserueth no more  
praises, than the gate of a blind horse  
about a wyde horsemill, which grin-  
deth no corne. And that old capitaine  
which in many battailes and iourneis  
hath been founde alwaye negligent,  
deserueth no garlande. **Many aucto-  
rities** do require an exquisite triall,  
for as much as auctoritee doeth abate  
feare, and minister boldnesse, bolde-  
nesse draweth in licence, licence is mo-  
ther of mischief, which needes must  
be suffered vntyll fauour relenteth.

**Forsee.**

**Alcine.**

**T**hese thinges considered, Fronti-  
nus, cyther your iudgement is not so  
perfecte as I woulde haue taken it

to be, or elles ye secretly winkyng at the sayde faultes, haue dissembled longe with me, and kepte thynges from my knowlage, contrary to your allegeaunce and durtie.

¶ With these wordes Frontinus being afearde, kneled downe, and besought the emperour to pardon hym of his folly, confessyng that he had not perfect knowlage of the disposition and maners of the sayd Fabius. But for as muche as he had been favourable towarde him and his friends in his ministracions, he mutually despyred his aduancement.

¶ Thereat smyled the emperour and sayde: Shall this plage neuer cease, whiche in realmes and citees hath so longe reigned? that mutuall beneficence blindeth mens iudgementes. Power. And whyles power with pleasures getteth great acquaintaunce, vertue is vnknown, and in the court friendlesse. I know, Frontinus, that pride in Fabius Macrinus is a domesticall vyce. For in all the house of Fabius it hath been excedyngly noted, and in some histories remembred. And in



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this man, as well the remembraunce of his auncient nobilitie, as his long continuance in auctoritie, hath more increased it: as I my selfe haue marked, and also hearde other murmuring at it, whan I haue secretly walked in the citie in a priuate apparail. Wherefore I wyl not that he be in our counsaile nor palaice, that eyther his pride shoulde be of younge men folowed, or of olde men disdeigned, or of vs suspected.

Honour.

His great possessions and riches declareth, that he can not be with a little contented, sens the more parte thereof he hath gathered vnder the colour of his auctorities, beyng not left vnto hym by his owne parentes, nor receiued of our liberalitie, nor by the gyfte of our predecessours. And very seldome where honour increaseth auarice abateth. I hate not Fabius in the state that he nowe is, although I fauoure not in hym the sayde notable vices, but if he were nerer vnto vs, we could neither susteine them, nor suffer him unpunished if he than vsed them.

Also

**E** Also in his longe experience I neuer herde him for iustice commended: but I haue hearde his arrogance, his longe delaying of suiters, and his parcialitee of many displayed. Truly such a man is neither meete to be a high counsaylour, nor to say the truth in any great office.

**T**hese thinges considered, Frontinus, speake no more of hym, but serch for some other, in whom sincerite and temperaunce be ioigned with wysedome. Such one, if he be of an ancient house shall bring to our palace an honourable remembraunce of his noble progenitours, and as well to noble as vnnoble shalbe an excellent paterne or president. If he be but late come to worshyppe, his aduancement shall ingender in noble men an honest enuie, eyther to exceede hym in vertue, or at the least to be iudged equall vnto hym. To poore men it shall be an allectife and roote of good hope, that they be in the ranke, wher the rewarde of vertue is dealed.

And thus ceased theperour to speake  
And Frōtinus departed, being both a

Siue

Chamed

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Shamed of his enterpryse, and abashed  
at the wysedome of his noble maister,

**T**he most noble aunswere of Alex-  
ander made to Alphenus, concer-  
nyng the disabling of Sextili-  
us Rufus in his absence.

Capitulo. xxxiiii.

Lampyl-  
dus,

**T**he Emperoure had a custome,  
whiche was very commendable,  
that he neuer made any sen-  
natour, without the counsaile of the  
whole Senate: and euery senatour  
shoulde geue his sentence. Also tes-  
timonie of his lyuing and credence  
shoulde be brought in by honourable  
personages. But if eyther the Sena-  
tors that spake, or the witnessers were  
founden to haue spoken vntuly, they  
were reiected in the lowest place of e-  
stimacion amonge the people, beeyng  
also condemned as deceiuers or for-  
gers without hope of remission.

**T**here was dwellynge in a village  
by Rome a gentelman called Sexti-  
lius Rufus, whiche was right well  
learned in all partes of philosophie,  
also in the sciences liberall. But for  
asmuch



asmuch as he considered the frequene alteration of the weale publikē, with the manyfolde perils and troubles in the administracion therof, he of purpose withdrew hym therfro as muche as he mought, although his father had ben a senatour in his lyfe, and he amonge his neyghbours and diuers of the nobilitee was had in good reputacion. Notwithstanding for the causes befoze rehearsed, and that he despyed nothyng so muche as quietnesse of mynde, and to solace hym selfe in the most pleasaunt herbar of science: and visiting the most delectable woꝝkes of ancient wyters, he seldom came to the emperours court, oz resorted to playes oz bankers, ne did come to salute the great officers nor men in auctoritee, as the vse was at that tyme. And among the yong galantes he was not beloued, because he fauoured not theyꝝ riotrous pastymes. And the men of lawe had hym in disdeigne, because he repugned againste their subtrill gloses, and blamed their auarice. Finally, he beyng fully content with the golden mean, liued right honest;

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honestly in a manour, whiche he had  
competently furnished with possessions  
sufficiēt for the prouision of his meane  
housholde, whiche was to his neygh-  
bours more bounteous thā sumtuouse.  
¶ After the emperour had purged  
his palaice and the senate of vnwor-  
thy persons, corrupted with detestab-  
le vices, and with muche difficultee  
founde other to set in their places: It  
happened, that some good man nar-  
med to him Sertilius Rufus, declarig  
the common repozte, whiche he had  
hearde of hym. The emperour, who  
knew al to be true that was spoken,  
helde his peace not withstandynge,  
hearkenynge what shoulde be other  
mens sentences. The more part of  
theim whiche were present, affirmed,  
that Rufus, for his honestee, wyle-  
dome, and learning, was meete to be  
of the senate: but thre or foure sayd  
nothyng. At the laste Alphenus, a  
great lawier, and in good estimation  
with the emperour, objected, sayinge.  
That not withstandynge that Rufus  
was learned in dyuers sciences, yet  
was he neither profoundly learned in  
the

the lawes ciuile, nor muche experient-  
ced in affaires of the empire. And  
that his little husbandry, and small  
prouision aboute the encrease of his  
lyuing, declared hym to be a man of  
no great policie, nor of any dexteriz-  
tee about thynges of importaunce.

And that the aptitude of his nature  
was onely in studious meditation  
of sundry sciences, and in wytyng  
more than in dooing. Addyng to,  
that phylosophers are neuer good  
practysers in a weale publyke, nor  
yet good men of warre. Wherefore  
in as muche as he that is a senatour,  
not onely ought to be a man meete  
for politike gouernance, as well in  
geuyng counsaile in matters thereto  
perteynyng, as also beyng chosen to  
be Pretor, or to any other ministra-  
cion of Justice, not to be ignorant in  
geuyng iudgement in causes brought  
before him: but also he ought to haue  
some experience in marciall affaires,  
that beyng chosen consull, or leader  
of the hoste of the Romaynes, he  
mought see the men of warre to bee  
well instructed and exercised.

And



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And that in all thinges belongyng to warre, the state of the citee be sufficiently furnished. Moreover that in battayle ioigned eyther by his ignorance or basenesse of courage, the Romaine armie be not destroyed. These thinges considered, it seemed to hym, that it was not expedient to receiue Rufus into the numbre of Senatours.

**T**he emperour hearyng Alphenus, and seeyng, that no man proffered to speake after hym, except thre or foute moe, which were lawyers, and one Oninius Camillus a noble man, who had some displeasure towarde Rufus for one of his seruantes: these seemed by theyr countenances to approue the sayinge of Alphenus. That perceyuyng the emperour, lokyng on Alphenus, spake in maner as hereafter foloweth.

**I** see well Alphenus, that not only the vulgare and vnlettered people be angrely stered, and dooe reteyne displeasure against them, whiche without malice, dooe rebuke in a general: see the bycs and faultes, whiche be founden amonge theym : but also  
which

(which I doe lament) men specially chosen for theyr wisdom and learning, dooe disdeigne them that rebuke the abuse of that studie or exercise, which these wise men most chiefly haue haunted. I know that Sertilius in one of his booke hath sharply noted the detriment doon vnto iustice by couetouse lawyers, whiche by theyr subtyll wittes haue inuolued the lawes ciuile into suche obscure and ambiguisse sentences, that no man without theyr declarations, may knowe howe to dooe or minister iustice in cases, for the whiche the sayd lawes haue prouyded. Nor they that make lawes can expounde them afterwarde without a lawier, whiche perchaunce was not fyrste pruiue to the lawe makynge. These and like annotations of Rufus dooe not a little offende you, that be lawiers, although ye haue abandoned practise. And that displeasure onely hath caused you to make this conclusion, that Rufus is not meete to be of the Senate, the residue of your argument dooeth sufficiently proue it.

First

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**G**raue the diuersitie of sciences,  
wherein your selfe dooe confesse, that  
he is well learned, doth not disable  
hym to be a Senatour, but maketh  
hym more conuenient and necessarie  
for so noble a counsaile. For to whom  
dooeth it more apperteyne, to vse  
wordes in theyr propre significaci-  
on, and to set them in order, so that  
they make not the sence peruerse or  
doubtfull, than to a Senatour, or one  
haupng rule in a weale publike: and  
that is the thyng, whiche Grammer  
teacheth?

**Logike.**

**L**ogike is none other, but the sci-  
ence of resonyng, helpyng naturall  
witte to fynde truthe more quickly  
out of dyuers opinions, by affirmyng  
or denyng: which in a Senatour may  
not be spared.

**Rhetor-  
ike.**

**A** man shall not well gouerne a ci-  
tie or countrey, and sette in good or-  
der the maners of people (as Plu-  
tarche sayth) excepte he be well fur-  
nished with eloquence, wherewith  
onely he may perswade, affectuall-  
ly stee, incline, and leade where he  
listeth the myndes of the multitude:

And



And that is best learned by Rhetor-  
yke.

¶ How many thynges happen in the  
state of a citie or realme, whiche re-  
quireth a diligent and exact compu-  
tation with numbres? and that by *Arithmetike*  
*Arithmetike* is best perceined.

¶ In assignyng of boundes and li-  
mites, also to the making of munici-  
ons and fortreffis, also in deuising of  
engines for warres, who dare saye,  
that Geometrie is not expedient? whil-  
che describeth equalitee and inequali-  
tee, aptene Ie and vnaptene, good  
propozcion, and deformitee.

¶ Also without harmonie nothyng  
is seemely or pleasaunt, and by con-  
corde and discorde all publike weales  
do stande and decay, yea and as some  
philosophers haue writte, by them all  
thynges had theyr begynnynge. And  
this is best vnderstande by the sci-  
ence called *Musike*.

¶ Moreover he that leadeth an ar-  
mie, if he be instructed in the diuerse  
temperatures of sundry countreys, by  
the naturall discourse of the sunne,  
by the fine circles, the alteration of  
houres

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houres in day and nyght, by the distance of climes and paraleles, whiche be sensible lines and spaces, wherby the sunne passeth about the firmament: Also the moone with her mutable figures, and specially authorize ouer waters and humours: the naturall influence of other celestiall bodies and signes, I meane in plentie or scarcitee of thinges concernyng mans sustinance, and in stormes or calme: nesse of wether: All whiche thynges be knownen by the diuine science called Astronomie, I say if a capitayne be therein instructed, and not so muche curious or arrogant, he shall the more safely kepe alway his armie.

Julius Cesar beyng therein exactly learned, vanquished by celeritee and sundry preuencions not onely the fortune and moste experte chivalrie of valiant Pompei, but also the incomparable wittes of foure hundred Senators. And our noble progenitour Hadriane the emperour was thought to haue exploited thynges in battaile by the helpe of this sciēce aboue mens expectation, I omitte Hercules, which

whiche became disciple to Atlas, for the commoditie which he thought to finde in Astronomie. Finally as ye all know, I haue had no little delyste in these foure mathematicall sciences, and yet haue for the vtilitee that I fynde in them, when I doe contēplare the perfect state of weale a publyke: And the same is approued bothe by Plato and Aristotle, whiche shapeth theyr examples by porcions of Arithmetike, Geometric, and Musicke, where they wyte of Concorde in vertues, or politike gouernance.

¶ This well considered, a Senatour eyther for geuyng of counsaile, or for beyng a captayne in warres, shall finde none impedimente, by hauyng these sciences: but vsing them moderately, and as occasion requireth, they shalbe to hym not onely an excellent ornament, but also a necessarie treasure, and to all sortes of gouernance a thyng ryght expedient.

¶ What although Sextilius be not profoundly lerned in the lawes ciuile? is that a good argument, that therefore he may not be a good counsaillour,



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of in other auctorities about the weale  
publike? Considereth all the Senate of  
lawiers? Or standerth the weale pub-  
like, and all her affaires, onely by  
lawes all redy stablyshed? Maye no  
publyke weale be without lawiers?  
Howe many noble Senatours haue  
there ben, and yet are, whiche neuer  
raddc ouer all the. xii. tables? and  
yet haue they be found to reason wit-  
tily, and minister prudently. Be  
lawes any thynge els than rules of  
Justice, whereby he commaunderth  
what should be done, and what ought  
not to be done, where a weale publike  
should prosper? Ihan is it euident,  
that Justice maketh lawes, and not  
lawe Justice. Also he that rederth the  
lawe, seeth the commaundemente of  
Justice, but sayng the lawe onely in  
that that he seeth it, he dooeth not  
knowe Justice: but contrary wyse, he  
that knoweth iustice, by her may dis-  
cerne what is right or wronge, what  
is equall or vnequall, and by the pa-  
terne of Justice may inuent a remedy  
propice and necessarie, which expres-  
sed in woorde or wytyng may be cal-  
led a

led a lawe. The knowlage of Justice  
 eyther hapneth by speciall influence  
 from the high god: or els it is gotten  
 with the studie of wisdomie, compres-  
 hended in the booke of wise men, who  
 of Pythagoras were called Philoso-  
 phi, which doeth signifie the louers  
 of wisdomie. Wherefore they, whiche  
 either by diuine inspiration, or by stu-  
 die of the woorkes of excellent wyse  
 men, haue the truest knowlage of Jus-  
 tice, and haue beste vnderstandynge  
 what is iust, and what is vniust, and  
 consequentely can prouyde remedies  
 accordyng to Justice: whiche reme-  
 dies yf they ones be made vniuersall,  
 they be lawes, how so euer they be pro-  
 nounced, be it by a multitude or by  
 one person, as the Edic: not only of  
 the emperour, but also of him that is  
 Pretor, is a law as well as that whi-  
 che is made by al the whole senate, or  
 enacted by the Tribunes and people  
 of Rome.

Philosof-  
 phie.

¶ And where ye saye, that philosof: philoso-  
 phiers were neuer good practisers in physick,  
 a weale publike, nor yet good men of  
 warre, if ye dooe meane by practyse,

It is

that

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that detestable exercise, which is subtil deceiuing, craftie entermynge, maintenaunce of iniustice, peruerse counsayleng, and vnmeasurable gettyng, I confirme that your saying.

*Practise.*

For a Philosopher abhorreth suche practise, and as much as he may doeth & perswadeth the contrarie. But yf ye doe intende by that woord practise, only the laudable exercise in the administracion of a weale publyke, truly ye be in a greater errour and follie, and do speake as if ye were one of the vulgar people ignoraunt of letters. ye and that more is, priuate displeasure hath caused you to forgette what ye your selfe haue seene, contrarie to that whiche nowe ye haue spoken. I wyll not reherse all them, whiche beyng studious in Philosophie, haue gouerned publyke weales, or haue executed theyr ministracion therin substantially: but some wyll I speake of.

Who gouerned Aegypt and Libya more noblie, than Hermes called Mercurius Trismegistus? And what philosopher was in all sciences equall vnto him?



him? Who euer kept his countrey in  
 suche a quietnesse, and made it so rich  
 as Salomon kyng of the Hebrewes?  
 which as it is founden in theyr histo-  
 ries, trāslated into Breke by the com-  
 maundemēt of Ptholomie called Phi-  
 ladelphus, kyng of Aegypte, was so  
 great a philosopher, that he disputed  
 of all thynges naturall and superna-  
 turall: and for his wonderfull know-  
 lage there came to here hym out of all  
 partes of the worlde men and womē,  
 beyng at that tyme in most reputacion  
 of learnyng? Was euer this citee of  
 Rome in so good order as it was du-  
 ring the tyme of Numa Pōpilius, whi-  
 che was fortie yeres, who beyng an  
 excellent philisophier, and a priuate  
 persone, was chosen to be kyng: and  
 so muche moze is his gouernaunce to  
 be commended, that he brought the  
 people, which were rude, fierse, and  
 euer cōtinually in warres, with their  
 neighbours, into so good an order &  
 temperance of maners, that they whi-  
 che befoze were their enemies, had the  
 in admiracion and reuerence: Who  
 made better lawes, or better ordered

Theyr  
 lawes.

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the common weale of the citee of Athenes than Solon the great philosopher, as long as they coude susteine theyr owne welthe? The same citee had neuer a moze noble capitaine, nor a moze valiaunt, than Pericles: who with Anaxagoras continually studied philosophy. And to descend to a moze late time: where was there a better capitaine, or a moze noble warrior than Scipio Africane? who had alway with him Polibius the philosopher, and in vacant times from battaile he either hearde him rede, or disputed with him.

¶ Semblably Lucullus was so studious in all kyndes of learnynge (as Plutarcke wytyeth) that where he hearde, that anye greatie learned men disputed together, thither wold he goe, and studiously heare them: and (as the same author sayth) he haunted and embraced all kynde of philosophie, with mozte familiar acquaintance and custome, specially that whiche was called Academicke, or the doctrine of Plato. And was there such a moze noble, a moze politicke

lyke or more valiant capitaine, and  
 more esteemed and dread of moſte puil-  
 ſant princes than he was? Lord god,  
 what a ſenatour was Cato, called Ci-  
 ticensis? whoſe vertue was wondered  
 at throughte the worlde, whoſe mag-  
 nanimitee and incomparable ſeueri-  
 tee more profyted vnto the publyke  
 weale of the citee, than the victozies  
 of Pompei and Ceſar. And was nat  
 he ſo ſtudious in philoſophie, that he  
 coulde not temper him ſelfe, but muſt  
 needes ride Greke booke, whā he ſate  
 in the Senate? What conſull can ye  
 compare to Marcus Tullius, who  
 onely by his diuine and moſt excellent  
 wiſdome preſerued the publike weale  
 and citee of Rome from better ſubuer-  
 ſion, whiche needes muſt haue hap-  
 ned by the conſpiracy of Catiline and  
 his confederates, yf it had not been  
 by the incomparable wit of Tullius  
 founde out, and by his diuine elo-  
 quence plainly conuicted, and by his  
 wonderfull wiſdome ſuppreſſed and  
 cleane extinguiſhed: And howe ſtu-  
 dious he was, and exactly learned in  
 all kindes of philoſophy & eloquence,



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his most noble woorkes dooe declare  
with fame immozrall.

**T**he passe ouer Rigidus, Varro, Tra-  
sea, and many other sage and honora-  
ble senators, which were nat onely  
excellent philosophers, but also pru-  
dent counsellours and valiaunt capy-  
taines: yet wyl I reherse some, which  
were in the tyme of your remembrance.

**T**he Emperour Adriane was so  
profoundly learned in al philosophie,  
that he disputed openly at Athenes,  
with the chiefe philosophers of all  
Grecia, and vanquished Phauozinus,  
who at that tyme was of all other  
most famoule: and to what prince or  
capitayne geneth he place, either in  
marcial prowesse, or ciuile gouernāce.

**W**hat more honour euer hapned to  
Rome, thā that Marcus Aurelius An-  
toninus succeeded immediately Adriā:  
whose lyfe was confessed to be the  
moste certayne lawe vnto all people to  
rule or be ruled: And he for his exqui-  
site knowlage in all philosophy, was  
moste commonly called Antonine the  
philosopher, not by reproche as some  
worlde suppose it: but for a moste  
excellence

excellent and rare commendacion.

And what man did euermoze encrease the weale publike, or better defende it, than did this most noble and vertuous emperour? And be it of you receiued without suspicion of boiste, as it shall be spoken of me without anye bainglozy: I whch may not be compared with the most inferiour of them befoze named, either in lerning or prowesse: yet how muche I haue amended the state of the weale publyke, ye all can beare witnesse: and that I haue nothyng appaired the imperiall maiestee, it hath bene of the Senate and people in your pzesence confessed. And this coulde I not so well haue doen, if I had not instructed my wyt with the doctrine of Philosophiers.

What say you by Bozdiane, Menatius Aelius, Sereñianus, Catilius, Senecus, Frōtinus, Tacitus, & Aurelianus honourable Senatours, & our trusty counsaillours? and Sabinus, whiche sitteth here with vs? haue they not ryght well shewed theym selues to be apte vnto gouernaunce, whan they haue been Consulles, Tribunes, and

I v

Victors:

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**Rhetors** : yet be they no Lawyers,  
but the moze parte of theym be studious  
in philosophy, and other liberall  
sciences.

**A**nd now to make an ende of this  
matter, wherein I haue taried the longer,  
to the intent that I woulde extirpate  
this balne opinion, which men  
haue had against philosophers, and  
theim that be studious. Truly that,  
which ye dooe note in Sertilius to be  
like husbandry and small provision,  
procedeth not by lacke of good policy.  
as ye haue supposed, but he aduisedly  
doeth neglect to be riche, or to aspire  
to any auctoritee by ambition or flattery,  
preferring temperate and sure  
quiennesse, before dangerous and vn-  
thankfull labours: and moze esteemeth  
to be an honest liuer, than a malapert  
crauer.

**A**lso by the studie in philosophie it  
seemeth that he hath acquired a great  
magnanimitee or noble courage, not  
extending the force of his witte and  
knowlage in thynges, which are but  
of litle importaunce: wherein he  
fareth lyke to the puissaunte grey-  
hounde



hounde, which was sent to the great Alexander by the kynge of Albanie: vnto whom whan there was brought a great Bulle, he therfore woulde not once mene: afterwarde a mightie and fierce Lion was lykewyse shewed to him, whiche he onely behelde and moued his tayle, but he woulde not therfore arise out of his place. Finally there was brought forth a meruaulouse great Olifant: than stode he on his fete, and did sette vp his bristles, and shewed his teeth, and beeyng comforted by Alexander, he lepte to the Oliphant, and bytte hym: and after a fewe assautes kylled hym: likewise Sextilius beeyng contēt with his assate, extendeth not his witte to augment it ( but if he be fauourably called to thinges of great importance and therin well comforted, I doubt not, but that he wyll shewe, that his studie hath not been vayneely employed. I meruaile, that ye dooe not consider, that auctoritee and fauour not onely sheweth a good witte, but also dooeth polyshe that whiche is rude. Fullars, taylours, horse:

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horsekeepers, and marinars, were by  
thempereur Commodus, and my pre-  
decessour Heliogabalus, aduanced to  
be Consules, Pretors, and Tribunes  
whiche as I haud say, were so chan-  
ged in theyr wittes, that it seemed vn-  
to them, whiche knewe them befoze,  
that sauing theyr visage, & personage  
they were altered and made other mē,  
so much in theyr woordes and proce-  
dynges they excelled aboue theyr cu-  
stomable wittes, all mens expectaciō.  
Howe muche more hope is there of  
those men, which by education & stu-  
die haue their wittes holpē? Suppose  
ye not, that there be within our em-  
pire thousandes of men, which being  
but of meane reputacion, if they were  
set in autoritee, or about their person,  
would set forth noble wittes equal to  
yours, and perchaunce better (whiche  
I speake not displeasantly, but only  
to warne you to eschewe arrogancie.)  
Truely god geueth wisedome, but fa-  
uour and autoritee most chiefly ther-  
with it in a weale publike. Earth nor-  
riether the roote of a tree, but the com-  
fortable sun bringeth forth the blis-  
somes:

comes: and if stormes doe not let, he with his hollosom heat ripeth the fruit and maketh it pleasant. In lyke wise studie and labour bringeth in knowledge, which by the comfort of princes appeareth abroad in some ministracion. And if enuie or displeasure byng none impediment: the increase of favour maketh learnyng fruitfull & profitable vnto the weale publike: ye all here my sētence. And for as much as the more part of you (as I well doe perceiue) esteeme no lasse Sertilius Rufus than I doe, I wyl that he be sent for, & receiued into the senate, and his name registred in the table of Senatours, wherunto al the counsaill accordyng, it was for that tyme dissolued. Howe Sertilius hearyng that he was made Pretor, fled. And what the emperour sayd concernyng the matter. Capitulo. xxxv.

**A**fter it was declared vnto the Senate, that the emperour had chosen Sertilius Rufus to be a Senatour, and that he had sayde on his behaulfe, they all reioyced in the emperours wisdom and iudgement,  
and



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and at his nere commynge into the senate they all did arise and gaue thankes vnto him, for bringyng into that college such a man as Sertilius was. Soone after Sertilius being sent for by the emperours most gentill letters, came into the senate, and as his learninge and honeste maners requyred, was beloued and commendid of all men, except veray fewe, whom enuie and priuate displeasure continually fredd: whiche the wise emperour perceiuyng, to the intent that as wel the vertues of Sertilius shoulde be more knowne, and also be increased by his comfortable assistance, as also to manifeste to the comforte of other, howe muche he was inflamed in the fauour of vertue and doctrine, he caused Sertilius to be chosen Pretor, which thā was the highest office next to the emperour, in the ministracion of Justice. Therof hearing Sertilius, he beyng therat abashed and meruailouse sorrowfull, pryncipallye withdrew him selfe out of the citty: and not making longe abode at his owne house, in a strange habite, haunyng but one man with hym

him, went vnto Athens, determining to passe his tyme there in studie vntill the fame of hym were somewhat decreased, and an other chose vnto that office. Of this the aduersaries of Sertilius gathered no little occasion, not onely to pursue him, with mockes and derision, but also to accuse him vnto the emperour of disobedience and obstinacie contrary to his alleageaunce, and also to blame him for his departure, without asking licence. At these occasions the emperour herde without beyng any thyng moued agaynst Sertilius, and at the laste, beholding the accusers with a displeasent countenance he said vnto them as hercafter foloweth.

**C**How dare ye, thus presumtuously assaulte our patience with your false accusations (O howe maye ye for shame powze out your malice thus in our presence? What geueth you boldnesse to be thus malapert in attempting our reason with your enuiose persuasions? Thynke ye vs to be so dull and grosse witted, that we cannot perceiue your conspiracies? or so deafe

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deafe, that we can not heare your  
false rumours, whiche ye haue sprad  
of Serrilius? or so blynde, that we se  
not your cancred affections and pas-  
sions sparkelyng in your eyes, infla-  
myng your bylage, blaspyng out with  
your wordes, whiche for anger and  
haste, be so set out of order, that in  
thepm dooe appere your detestable  
follie. I tel you Serrilius by this his  
departing, hath nothing offended vs,  
or minished the opinion that we haue  
had of hym, but hath augmented it,  
and ryght well contented vs. For if  
enuy and malyce hath not made you  
forgetfull, ye may remembze, that  
whan we chose him to be a senator,  
one thing, wherein we commended him  
was, that he neglected to be ryche, or  
to aspire to auctoritee: see ye not how  
he hath confirmed my sayinge, and  
that I spake it not for speciall affec-  
cion: he hath not only neglected au-  
toritee, but that more is, he is fledde  
from it, whan it came towarde him.  
Whan we sent for him, he came vnto  
vs, and beyng appointed to be a sena-  
tour, he did obey vs, and gladly ap-  
plied



plied his studie and counsaile thereto  
 petteignyng: onely hearyng that he  
 was chose heretofore, before that he had  
 monicion therof, he fled, as if he had  
 been pursued with suche force, as he  
 had not been able to strue with, fea-  
 ryng (as I said, whan I praised him)  
 the dangerous and vnthankfull las-  
 bours, whiche he supposed to be in  
 such offices. And whither, or to who  
 is he fled? not to the Persians, not to  
 the people of Barbarie, or other our  
 enemies: but he is peasily gone vn-  
 to Athens, whiche ctee nexte vnto  
 Rome we moste fauour. And there in  
 a priuate habite he liueth in studie, in  
 that exercise which he supposeth that  
 he can better susteine, than the gouer-  
 nance of a weale publyke. But not  
 withstanding, shall we herefore re-  
 fect hym, and iudge him vnworthye  
 to be call'd to auctoritee? Nay than  
 were we yll aduised, and mought be  
 noted variable in our opinton, sens  
 we iudged hym once habile for neglec-  
 tyng therof, we now deme him more  
 habile for the refusyng: ne we will be  
 therfore more slacke in the offeryng:

¶

¶

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yea, we also wyll therto gentylly requyre hym. For truly auctoritee ought to be geue to suche as care least  
**A**uctoritee. for it : and kept from theym, whiche please fastest towarde it. For he that desyreth, wolde haue it for his only commoditee: he that loketh not for it, considereth, that he is chosen for others necessitee. Therfore how diuers is theyr ministraciō, it euer appereth, where as both hapneth. Leauē your bayne enterpryse, to byng vs in displeasure with hym, who is woorthy more honour than we can geue hym, and by his laudable flight hath banquished your enuie, and to your great reproche hath publyshed your folly. We therfore cōmaunde you to auoide out of our presence, and that we see you not vntyll we call for you.

**T**he letters of the emperour Alexander sent to Serrilius, and how vnwyllyngely he retourned to Rome, & receiued the office of Pretor. Cap. xxxv.

**F**orthwith the Emperour hym selfe indited letters vnto Serrilius, in maner folowing, Alexander Augustus

Augustus. &c. The rydinges of your  
 sodeine departyng, honourable Ser-  
 rilius, was to the senate and people  
 greuouse, to your enemies (although  
 they be fewe) plesant and ioyous, do-  
 louise to your friendes, of whome  
 there be many: but to vs not strange,  
 displeasent, nor meruaylouse: for as-  
 muche as we longer haue knownen  
 your notable temptaunce, than we  
 haue vsed your presence. Wherefore  
 nowe we more consyder your humil-  
 lite and vertuous shamefastnesse,  
 than that which your enemies dooe  
 call obstinacie and disobedience. Per-  
 swade your selfe, that where betore  
 we did fauour you, now do we moste  
 hertily loue you, and haue no lesse ar-  
 daunt desyre to haue the frucion of  
 your vertue and leachyng, than ha is  
 the true louer of his wyfe or compa-  
 nion. What such loue is, ye that haue  
 be at Socrates banket, do know most  
 certainly. Returne therfore with ho-  
 nour Gentilly Serrilius, satisfie the  
 desire of me, that am both your emper-  
 our and louer, reioyce the senate and  
 people, shame your enemies, & recom-  
 foze



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For your friends. Let it suffice unto  
 shamefastnesse, that he hath caused  
 you to reuerence, not onely your esti-  
 mation and credence, but also your  
 life and substance, if there had been  
 a senate vncircumspect, a people dis-  
 ordered, or an emperour a tyranne.  
 Let him now geue place to prudence  
 and magnanimitee, his time of rule is  
 expyred in you, theirs is now come:  
 for diuine prouidence hath so prouy-  
 ded, and willeth it be so, sens he hath  
 called you to the dignitee, which ye  
 haue well deserued. In vaine were  
 your long trauaile in studie and lear-  
 nyng, yf actuall experience dyd not  
 shewe forth theyr fruites. I confesse  
 that the booke, which ye haue made  
 haue well instructed other to gouer-  
 naunce: but yet when the publyke  
 weale calleth you, to be redie in your  
 owne person to serue him, it is your  
 chiefe office and duitie. For so God  
 hath ordeined you, nature commaun-  
 deth you, your countrey compelleth  
 you, and philosophic beaderth you.  
 Returne therfore hardily, and accept  
 with good courage, and thankfully  
 the

Publyke  
 weale.

the rewarde of your vertue: For the ministracion shall bee straunge vnto you, that in studie haue had with iustice suche familiaritee, and haue read so many booke of good pollicie. Also (which) ought muche to comforte you) ye haue a fauourable Emperour, experthe assistants, diligent ministers, and people obedient: ye being Pretor, how many men experthe in that office shall desyre your companie, and bee gladde to participate with you, that whiche experience or custome hath vsurped from learnyng: Where lawe ciuile is necessarie, among your assistants shall euer be some, which therein shall counsaile you: but synally, if ye haue alway respecte vnto iustice, and consyder the causes with a prudent and diligent scrutinie, the great knowlage of the lawe ciuile shall not muche trouble you. Laye therfore all dread apart, and be not sene for faintnesse of courage to forsake that, whiche the Emperour, Senate, and people, lordes of the worlde, haue with so great affection and iudgement prepared for you. Take heede of your

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health, & let vs shortly embrace you.

**T**hese letters were sente by poste, and in short tyme deliuered to Sertilius, than beyng at Athenes, in the house of Sertus Cheroneusis, with other philosophers which he receiuing with reuerence opened and radde, and in the redyng of them partly affected with the louyng perswasions of the most noble emperour, partly oppressed with dolour, seeing that he mought make no longer defence against his election, and that he must needs entre the dangerousse rase of auctoritee, pight full of perils, he let the salte teares ryll downe by his chekes. But whan they that were present vnderstode why that he shewed suche countenance, contrarywise they reioyced exceedingly, as well at the wonderfull wysedome of the yonge emperour, as that the vertue and learning of Sertilius was in conclusion so wel considered, calling Rome a citee most blessed, that shoulde haue such a Prytor. And with one consent they so pleased on Sertilius with inuincible argumentes, that he accorded to retourne



retourne towarde Rome, and to receiue the sayde office. Not withstanding after that he had sitte a good space without speakyng, he abayded out at the last, and complayned hym in this wyse.

**C** What miserable astate shall I Austoriter. now come to? wherin diligence shall be cause of displeasure, negligence of reproche, sharpnesse shall be dreadder full, pitie vnthankfull, familiaritie suspiciousse, frendship daungerouse, euerie mans countenaunce plesant, many mens myndes offended, flatterynge openly, disdeignynge secretly: against my commynge attendance, in presence muche courtesy: beyng out of office or fauour, lacke of acquaintaunce. But of force I must obey that the emperour commaundeth, & yet he commaundeth not, but most gentilly allureth: wherunto my frendes also consented, and reason determineth. I therefore committe all vnto god, who with his prouidence all thyng disposeth.

**C** And so he departed, and in shorte space arriued at Rome, where with many noble senatours, & the chiefe of

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the people he was gladly receiued.  
 Many other wyse and learned men  
 dyd this noble prince elect and moste  
 gentilly inuice vnto the ministracion  
 of the weale publike, by occasiō wher  
 of opprestion, extorcion, bybery, and  
 other corrupcion of iustice, were out  
 of the circe of Rome (during this em-  
 perours lyfe) bitterly exterminate.

**C**A notable question moued by Iul-  
 ius Paulus vnto the emperour A-  
 lexander. And the wyse an-  
 swere which he therun-  
 to made. Capit. lxxvi.

**Y**E haue hearde before, what  
 austeritee and sharpnesse in pu-  
 nishment the emperour Alex-  
 ander vled towarde all theym, whi-  
 che by any maner corrupcion gaue  
 vntreue sentences. Semblably against  
 theues and opprestours of people he  
 was no lesse rigorouse, punishynge  
 theim sharply and openly, without  
 remission or hope of pardon: tou-  
 chynge treason he dyd neuer alce or  
 adde any thyng to the punishments,  
 which

whiche were afore ordeigned: And in conspiracies against his owne person, he often times suspended his sentence, or deferred execution, as well to trie out the counsailes and practises of the offendours, as the fyrste occasion of theyr displeasures. Also whether theyr natures were obstinate or proude, aspying vnto supremitee: or if they were myld and easie, and seemed to be incended therto by the prouocation of other. And diuers suche, some he pardoned, and with most gentill perswasions not onely reduced them to due obedience, but also bounde their hertes to hym in a perfect allegeaunce: some he caused for a time to susteine imprisonment or exile, and as he founde them repentant, so dyd he relieue them. In theyr exyle it was punishmente of death, to geue to them any thing, but meate and drinke, and that but course and of small quantitee: also to be in theyr companie longer than they brought the meate, or to speake with them, or to receiue letters of them: so that they lyued alone amonge people,

in a



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in a prison inclosed, and in a common  
resorte in most painfull solitude. He  
had notwithstanding in those places  
of exile some trustie persons, abyding  
whom marked in what fourme they su:  
steined that punishment, whether  
they were very repentaunt or sturdie:  
and accordyng to such mens intima:  
cion, he caused the exile to bee shorter  
or longer. And here about he was ve:  
ry curious and diligent.

**C** On a time Julius Paulus, a noble  
counsaylour, mernaillyng, that them:  
perour was so pitifull toward them,  
which offended his person, beyng so  
rigorouse against all other transgres:  
sours, findyng the Emperour at ley:  
sure, sayd vnto hym in this wyse.

**C** Sir if it shal stand with your pleas:  
sure, I woulde be fayne satisfied in a  
thyng, whiche causeth me muche to  
wonder at you. Speake on (sayd the  
Emperour.) Sir saide Paulus, In al  
the time that I haue serued your ma:  
testee, I haue considered, that your  
proper nature is mylde, facile, gen:  
till, and wittie, and therewith adour:  
ned with incomparable patience and  
con:

constance. Wherefore when I be-  
holde you in publyke or ciuile mat-  
ters alway so bente to the rigour of  
Iustice, that ye wyl pardon none ex-  
ecution, the offendour beeyng iustly  
condemned: yet in transgressions a-  
gainst your maiestee, be they neuer so  
greuouse and lawfully proued, ye of-  
ten tymes dooe geue your most graci-  
ous pardon and sometyme vnasked.  
And some haue I knowne, whiche  
haue ben condemned for committynge  
actes agaynst theyr allegeaunce, to  
whom ye not only remitted your gra-  
ces displeasure, but also receiued the  
familiaritie, and entertained theim  
with greate liberalitee, as Oninius  
Camillus, who by secreete meanes as-  
pired to the imperiall maiestee, when  
he was therefore brought afore the  
Senate all tremblyng, his conscience  
disclosyng his trespase, ye geuyng  
to hym thanks, that he wyllyngly  
woulde take on hym the charge of the  
weale publyke, whiche other good  
men refused, when it was profered,  
and callng hym copartener of the  
empire, ledde hym from the Senate  
vnto

## IMAGE OF

unto your palaice, and caused him to sitte with you at supper, in more rycher apparaile than ye wace at that tyme: with muche other beneuolence shewed vnto hym at your goopyng in warres towarde Persia. This thyng maketh me and many other to meruaile. Wherfoze the causes, whiche hereunto moueth you, I am moste desirous to know, which by mine owne witte I can not determine. And many other, as well as I, be therewith perplexed. I therfoze moste humbly beseeche your maiestee, that by your owne mouthe it may be resolued.

**T**he emperour after a little pause, therunto answered: Truly Paulus we be nothing offended with your demaunde, but are right well contented to declare vnto you, and other men of like wisedome, the reason and cause, that doeth meue vs to doe any thyng in our office imperiall, that thereby we may exclude all ill suspicion, and approue our beneuolence towarde the weale publike. Albeit if ye had seen as muche of Philosophie, as ye haue dooen of the lawes ciuile, ye shoulde  
not



not haue had nede to haue made this demaunde. But now to your questi-  
on, ye must confesse Paulus, that in  
our persone be two states or condici-  
ons: one by nature common with  
other men: the other by election pri-  
uate and from the people excepted.

In the fyrst we be resembled to bea-  
stes, for the affections and passions,  
wherin we communicate with them.

In the other we be lyke vnto Gods  
immortall, in supreme dignitee excel-  
lyng all other men: which is to vs  
happed, and not in generate, by the  
prerogatiue of vertue, whiche is sup-  
posed to be more excellent in vs: whi-  
che vertue is none other thyng but dis-  
posicion, and exterior acte of the  
mynde, agreeable to reason, and the  
moderation of nature. The supreme  
dignitee, that we haue receiued, is  
onely in gouernaunce of men, whiche  
dooe participate with vs in Nature,  
wherin they alway remaigne equall  
with vs: but by Reason they be made  
inferior vnto vs: For they supposing  
it to be more habundantly geuen vs,  
haue therefore wyllyngely submitted  
them

Habile can  
replacius  
+ practicus.  
Supreme  
dignitee.

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them selfe vnto our gouernance. And what that gouernaunce ought to be, our names of dignitee, whiche the people hath geuen vs, dooe expresse sufficiently. For they gaue vs fyrste the surnames of Cesar and Augustus, for remembraunce of the prowesse of the one, and the wisdomme of the other whiche lyke as they despyred, so they trusted to be aboundauntly in vs.

Cesar.

Augustus.

Imperator. They call vs also Emperour, whiche dignitee among the auncient Romans consisted in the principall gouernance of hostes and armies, not onely in leading them vnto warres (which was also the office of a duke) but also to see them euer well exercised, keepynge alway and in euery place good order and Justice.

Dux.

Moreover, the Senate and people haue geue vs a name excellynge all other in honour and dignitee, calling vs Father of theyr countrey. Maye there be imagined any name greater or higher? For where ye haue mislaused lyberally to consecrate manye of our progenitours, and calling them Gods, haue made them equall one to

Pater  
patris.

an other. Onely Jupiter, whom Or: Jupiter.  
 phens dooeth call life, you and your  
 progenitours have called father, as it  
 were by a spectall prerogative aboue  
 all other: whiche name is agreable  
 vnto his propertie. For of life al thin  
 ges haue beeyng and meuyng, whiche  
 acte of creati'on, or (more naturally to  
 speake it) generac'i'o, is incidēt to the  
 name of father, like as also his office  
 is to preserve and kepe safe that whic  
 he he him selfe hath ingendred. Con  
 sidering howe inestimable an office  
 and dignitie are concluded in that di  
 vine and most reuerende name of fa  
 ther, making me thereby the mortall  
 Image of the liuyng God: howe cir  
 cūspect ought I to be that I doe uo  
 thing vnworthy that name so libe  
 rally geuen me? we knowe well Paul  
 us, that in mannes children be diuers  
 and sundry disposicions, some be apt  
 of their nature to vertue and towards  
 nesse, some haue not nature so prompt  
 and beneuolēt: wherfore they must be  
 by educacion therunto formed: some  
 be quicke of witte, some dull in capaci  
 tie: of sharpe wittes, some most do re  
 splens



## IMAGE OF

splendide in actes that be honest, or  
ther some quickest in malice & shrewde-  
nesse. The good and diligene father  
of curriche of theim is equally care-  
full, and assaicteth fyrst by education  
to make theim all conformable vnto  
his appetite. And therfore at the first  
with sweete meates and pratie giftes  
he allureth theym all for to loue him,  
& where they offende (as none, or els  
very fewe are perfite in vertue,) cor-  
recting them with a little sharpe rod,  
he maketh theym also to feare hym.  
And yf he beate a shrewde boy, it is  
doone as well to put other in feare to  
offende, as to make him amende. And  
sometyme the father to restraigne the  
prouyse disposicion that he seeth in  
his children to vicious qualitees, do-  
eth abdicate nome and than one, that  
is to say, putteth them out of his fa-  
milie, and clerely excludeth theym  
from any hope of inheritance. Some-  
time perceiuing theyr shrewdenesse to  
crease, if any transgresseth against him  
selfe onely, eyther he correcteth hym  
moderately, or by a wyle and gentill  
perswasion, assageth to induce him to  
knowe

knowe well his duitie, and to plucke  
from hym opinion of a false libertee.

Next vnto God, who is so great a fa-  
ther, as he which is father of a whole  
countrey? that is to saye, father of  
themy that be fathers, their children  
and familie? Howe muche than  
oughte the care of hym excēde farre  
the cares of all other? the charitie of  
hym, the loue of all other? the wis-  
dome of hym, the prudence of other?

The studious father more careth how  
to bring vp his chyl dren in honestie,  
than howe to lyue pleasauntly. The  
lounge father hath more sollicitude  
about his childrens helth, then about  
his owne wealth. The wise father  
more considereth what his sonne shall  
be in the estimation of other men, than  
how he may content his singular af-  
fection. I haue shewed to you the of-  
fice of a priuate father. What wyl  
ye now say to me, that in office am  
the vniuersall father of all the whole  
countrey: wyl ye saye, that I should  
haue lesse care, lesse loue, or lesse wis-  
dome and pollicie? I suppose no, I  
knowe therein your opinion suffici-

Office of a  
father.

¶

ently

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ently. Than take good hcedde what I say. The rigour of Justice, whiche ye seeme to note in me, in punishyng offenders against the weale publike, is but a forme of discipline, conuenient and necessarie, hauynge regarde to suche children as I founde in this citie, corrupted with al kindes of vice, and hauing their myndes and wittes all disposed to follie, which being a generall detrimente, I haue vled therein a more sharper remedie: and therefore consequently it hath been founde the more conuenient and speedye.

¶ In offences touching our only person, we haue descended in our minde from the imperiall maiestie, and considered our fysse estate left vs by nature, wherein lokyng as in a mirrour we beholde the same matter that other men be of, and therein the seedes of sundry affections, this causeth vs where we fynde hope of amendment, in lamentyng the miserie of mankind to be moued with a fatherlye pittie and muche lasse esteemyng the daunger of our person onely, than of the whole



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whole countrey. We endeavour vs by mercie and gentilneſſe to reſtoze that unkinde childe, whiche hath offended vs, relations to his bretherne and companie. Notwithſtanding yf he be ſo malicious and arrogant, that he wyl not ceaſſe to abuſe our patience, we than reſuſe hym to be our child, and as an enemy vnto the weale publyke (foz ſo be all that intende hoſtilitee againſt him, which is heade and father thereof) we committe him to the Senate and people foz his malice and treaſon, to be iuſtly condemned. And thus doyng we accompliſhe all the partes of a father: and keeping the people in a moderate feare and good order, we execute the office of a good Emperour.

¶ Thus haue ye Paulus a iuſt accompte of our miniſtracion, I wote not how it contenteth you, ſure I am that mine owne conſcience therein was neuer offended, noz the publike weale greued, noz any good manne thereby oppreſſed, wherof I haue the Senate and people my witneſſe, and him onely my iudge, who heeyng in heauen,

¶ ii

ſayleth

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faileth not to punishe all them that abuse his image.

**C** Herewith Julius Paulus seemed to be satisfied, and most humbly thankyng the emperor, and murthering at his great wysedome and temperance, for that time departed.

**O**f a great exclamation made against a gentelman called Marcus Geminius by his Libertines. And the oracion of Julius Moderatus, made in the Senate. Capi. xxxviii.

**L**ikewise as this emperor Alexander was rigorous and terrible to corrupt iudges and oppressours of Justice, so was he most favourable and bounteous unto all suche as were sincere in theyr ministracions and supporters of equitee. On a time as he went towarde the Senate, there came against hym a great numbze of persons, homely appareyled and of a rude presence, whiche as the Emperour approached them, fell downe on theyr knees, and in a most lamentable forme with one confusorie accused a gentelman called Marcus Geminius of oppression, & to bring him

him moze into displeasure and enuie, they added to theyr complaynt, that he was one of theim that conspyred with Oninius Camillus. The emperour heard them, & diligently marked their gesture and countenaunce, wher in he perceiued to be moze rancoure than dolour, moze sturdynesse, than humble shamefastnesse, moze obstinate crueltee, than reason or honestie: He than asked of theim, what people they were. They answered, sayinge: that they were husband men of Campania. He commaunded them to withdraue them vntyl they were sent for, and shewyng to them a right gentill bysage, he passed from them.

**T**he people receiuyng a moze arrogant courage, of the comfortable countenaunce, whiche it seemed that the Emperour made to theim at their departing, leauing for the whyle their countertaite sorowes, they spent the dayes in tauernes and vitayling houses, the nyghtes in places of bawdry, promising vnto them selues victorie, against Geminius, adding thereto with moſte despitefull arrogance, that his



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tourmentes and deathe shoulde be a  
dreadfull example to gentillmenne:  
and that from thensfoorth the they  
ploughmen and tenauntes shoulde be  
felowe lyke with theim. Whiche me-  
naces and boosynges were sone af-  
ter reported vnto the Emperour: But  
firste as sone as he was come to the  
Senate, he shewed there all that was  
happed, and than he demaunded the  
Senatours, yf any of theim knewe  
Marcus Ceminus. Dyuers of theim  
answered in order, that they knewe  
hym well, and that he had been al-  
waye reputed a man of muche hones-  
tie, and hauyng a competent lyuynge  
for his degree, had euer liued there  
with temperately, without note of re-  
proche vnto this tyme. Herewith as  
the emperour late meruailynge at the  
furie of the sayde clamorous people,  
and the commendacion giuen to Mar-  
cus Ceminus, an ancient senatour, na-  
med Junius Moderatus, who was re-  
puted to be a man of great worship,  
and was of the age of one hundred  
yeres, or there about, did stande vpon  
his feete, and sayd in this wyse.

¶

**T**hose noble Emperour, all be it that I am not requyred, nor do now intende to take on me the defence of Marcus Beminus, with whō I haue no maner acquaintaunce, yet to the entent that your most gentill and pittifull hert, tempred with iustice, should be no longer perplexed, as it appeareth to be by your countenanne, I wyl by remembrynge your maiestee of the generall state and condicion of theim, whiche haue complayned on Marcus Beminus, in some parte (I truste) resolue the importaunce of your admiration and studie.

**W**e do well perceiue, that the complayners be all of Campania, a countrey moste plenteous of all thyng that the earth may byng forth, and therewith so fertile, that it dooeth not require great toyle or labour, but onely good diligence in obseruyng the oportunittee of tyme in sowynge and plantyng, with the preservation of the thynges whyles they be growing. With this fertilittee, the bodyes doe become fat and lustie, and thereby are made il disposed to labour, the which

The oracles  
on of Junius  
us Modestus  
ratus.

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disposition the goodnesse of the soyle  
alway supporteth: thereof procedeth  
obstinate surdinesse against theyr su-  
perious, and often tymes commoci-  
ons and sodaine rebellions: and with  
great difficultee hath the people bee  
broughte vnto a perfecte obedience,  
which was after that they had rebel-  
led against the Romaines, being con-  
federate with Hanniball and the Car-  
thaginenses. At the which tyme they  
beyng banquished by Fulvius, many  
were slayne, the multitude were solde  
in bondage vnto the Romaines, a-  
mong whom the fieldes and possessi-  
ons were at that tyme deuoyded, it du-  
red a longe tyme, that the Romaines  
beeing good husbundes them selves,  
ouersecyng theyr tyllage and husban-  
dry, keepyng the Campanes in seruiz-  
tude, bourdaining them with conti-  
nuall labours, feedyng and clothynge  
them moderately, and moze nerer to  
scarsitee than superfluitee, leaupyng  
them no moze vacacion from labour  
than the festiuall dayes, whiche the  
lawes haue appoynted: the countrey  
abode in continual quietnesse, and in:  
rice



Rice was there sufficiently ministered,  
 by one onely magistrate sent vnto  
 theym perely out of this citee. There  
 dwelled Sacerna, Tremilius, Julius  
 Atticus, & diuers other gentilmen, as  
 well in husbandrie, as in other wise:  
 dome and pollicie noble and famous,  
 without exclamations vnto the Se-  
 nate. Moreover the gentilmē brought  
 vp in that countrey, for theyr tempe-  
 rance in luyng, and prudent gover-  
 nyng of theyr owne familie, were of-  
 tentimes elect into the Senate, and  
 esteemed alwaye for the best Sena-  
 tors. But after the subuersion of  
 Carthage, and that al Grece and A-  
 sia were in our iurisdiction, Spayne  
 made tributarie, and Gallia brought  
 vnto subiection, Idelnesse with deli-  
 cate appetite entred together into  
 this citee, and so much abounded,  
 that it was from thence distributed  
 into all the whole region of Italie.  
 And than the gentilmen of Campania  
 lefte theyr auncient frugalitee and  
 diligent gouernaunce, and byd sette  
 all theyr studie onely about thynges  
 pleasaunt and delectable, not beyng

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contented with the commodities of the same countrey, ne with the same measure and quantitee, whiche they befoze vsed : but with outragious expences, sendyng into other countreys farre of, for other kynde of thynges, whiche they had not growyng, they vnfaynably fedde therewith theym selues and theyr seruauntes, and contemnyng the exercise of husbandrie, they negligently haue suffered theyr seruauntes to be oppressed with goure mandise, and to reiecte theyr accustomed fare, and to haue it moze delicate. Also to encrease sleepe and pastime, and to minishe theyr laboures and diligence. Moreover by priuate contencions amonge the same gentlemen (which alway happeneth where temperaunce lacketh) by ambition and enuie they that were bondemen, were enfranchysed and made libertines, to the intent that their lordes woulde be seene puiſſaunt of men, to mainteine theyr quarrels : Whereby it is happened, that the progenie of the saide bondemen are now of suche Rudyneſſe, that they disdeigne and take

Libertines  
were of  
like condi-  
tions, as  
our copthel-  
ders were  
of old time.

take scozne to be corrected, he wyl or  
therwise laboure than it shall lyke  
them. And if theyr lordes wyl sharpe-  
ly call on them, they wyl not lette,  
boldly to make resistance: And where  
they be not therto sufficient, they wil  
suborne some false quarrell to make  
a commocion, trustynge thereby to  
robbe and destroye theyr lordes: or if  
they can not bynge that to passe, at  
the least they wyl make iniuste excla-  
mations, where they fynde a prynce,  
whom they suppose to haue his eares  
open to tales and repoztes, and wyl  
condemne in his opinion men com-  
playned on, before perchauce that he  
knoweth them. Hereof haue we to  
many examples, as well in the tyme  
of Tiberius Nero, and Domitiane, as  
in the tyme of my remembrance. Were  
not Dulus Sillanus, & Antius Lu-  
pus, me of great honestee, condēned to  
death by the Emperour Commodus,  
vpon the false complaintes of theyr  
libertines: whiche grutchēd against  
them, because that Sillanus was a  
stern man, & of the ancient seueritē.  
Wherfore they mought not susceyue  
him



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him, punishyng them continually for  
theyr ybell and riotous lyuing : Lu-  
pus, because he woulde not suffer his  
libertines to incroche vppon his pos-  
sessions, and to retayne certayne por-  
tions of lande, which after the death  
of Petilius Rufus his mothers vncle  
(whose heire Lupus was) they hadde  
taken by stealth, whyles he was in  
Asia, wherfore they approached him vn-  
to the emperour, saying that he was  
of familiar counsaile with Caius Re-  
gilius, whom a little before, Commo-  
dus had put vnto death. Petronius,  
in the time of Caracalla the emperour  
was also put to death by a lyke occa-  
sion. And to speake of mine owne  
experience, by the space of .xl. yeres,  
so longe I continued in keepyng of  
husbandry in the countrey of Umbria,  
hauing therein much delectacion, I  
founde the rusticall people my neygh-  
bours prompt to iniuries, murmu-  
ryng at Iustice, grutchyng at la-  
bours, desirouse of pleasures, ingrate  
against benefites. At the fyrst I was  
with theym familiar and homely,  
than founde I theim alway earlythe  
and

and surdy. Than against mine owne nature I chaunged my copie, and became towarde theym moze straunge in countenaunce, moze rare in speaking, moze selde in pardonyng, moze quicke in reuengeyng, suche iniuries as they wyllingly dyd me. Mozeouer I was moze frequente in commaundyng my libertines, and wolde my selfe see them to doe truly theyr seruices, nothyng omittynge: than had I a little and seldome any occasion to be offended with. There was none iniuries offered me of my neighbours, which beholdyng me so sharpe to my libertines, and so rygorouse in iustice, feared to displease me.

My lybertines forgetyng all pleasures, studyed with labour and diligence to get some prayse of me.

Than considered I well that good dettours oftentimes spared, become yll payers, small iniuries oftentimes pardoned, maketh of neyghbours perniciousse enemies. A seruant made a matter to malaperte, wyll kicke at his duntie, seruantes. and labour by custome becommeth easie: Beholde, the gentill masters haue

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Seruante.
 haue alway proude seruantes: And  
 of a maister surdie, and fierce, a lye  
 tell wyke to his seruante is a feare-  
 full commaundement. The nature of  
 libertines is muche contrariouse to  
 that whiche is gentill. The gentil-  
 man, gentilly increated, is content to  
 doe all thynge: The vile nature, fami-  
 liarly vbled, grudgeth at euery thynge.  
 This is euery daye proued, but no  
 wyte can make streyght that which  
 nature made croked. Geminus is a  
 gentelman of an olde house of the La-  
 tines, whose great graundefather  
 Rubellius Geminus was cōsul in the  
 late dayes of the emperour Tibertius.  
 He hath his possessions in Campania  
 (as I haue herd say) by an auncerour  
 of his mother called Soponius Sura,  
 Perchaunce his noueltee there maye  
 be disdeigned, and the moueable peo-  
 ple lackyng somewhat of their willes,  
 may be comforted by some of equall  
 degree vnto Geminus, by theyr excla-  
 mations to bypuge hym out of cre-  
 dence, and consequently vnto some  
 leoperdie. Wherefore serueth the  
 Dicto, Triphonius, who is knowne  
to be



to be a man very discrete, well learned, and of a great iudgement: if they came to hym, why dyd he not heare them? If he woulde not heare them, why complaine they not of him? If he did heare them, why is Geminus lesse sylly unpunished? If he be punished, why is he estesones accused? Wyne advise is (most noble Emperour) that Marcus Geminus be hastily sent for, that he haue no leasure to sollicite the Pretor Triphonius: and that immediately afterwarde a letter bee directed to the same Pretor, wyllyng hym to aduertise your maiestee with all expedition, what may be proued in the ratification of suche articles as benne objected in the accusation of Geminus: whiche proues being sent vnto vs, if Geminus can not tell them, than let the lawes of the citee proceede against hym. If the suggestion be found false and malicious, than shall your maiestee do lyke a vertuous gouernour, and father of the countrey, if by your excellēt wisdom and rule of iustice ye prouyde, that the false accusers, & their abettours,

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roue may be so punished, that they and other persons of like inclination, may be afearde to abuse your clemencie and most gentyll nature. And now hath your maiestie hearde all myne opinion.

**T**his sentence contented the emperour, who therfore commended the substanciall wisdom and compendious eloquence of the old Moderatus. And according therunto was Geminus sent for by an officer, and sone after a letter was sent to Triphonius, according to the minute before reherced: which was deliuered to the Pretor incontinent vpon the departing of Geminus.

**T**he wonderfull prudence and equitee shewed by Alexander the emperour, in the determinacion & sentence in the matter proceeding. Ca. xxxix.

**A**t the coming of Geminus to Rome, he was forthwith committed vnto Catellius the Senator to be secretly kept, with comfort geuen vnto him, that is suche thynges  
as

as he was accused of, coulde not bee  
proued by witness or matter suffici-  
ent; his accusation shoulde bee to him  
an happy displeasure.

In the meane time Triphonius the  
Prefect, when he had receiued the emper-  
ours letters, fearinge his rigorous  
iustice to rulers and iudges corrupted  
or negligent, he forthwith sent vnto  
the moste honeste inhabitauntes, not  
beinge gentlemen, whiche dwelled in  
townes and byllages next adioyning  
to the habitacion of Geminus: whom  
not beinge yet ware of the departing  
of Geminus, nor for what cause they  
were sent for, the Prefect callinge vnto  
him one of them after another, se-  
uerally examined them, what they  
knew or supposed of Marcus Gemi-  
nus, in what obediēce he vsed him self:  
first concerninge his faith to the empe-  
roure, senate, and people of Rome: also  
in Justice and equitee touching his  
neighbours: moreouer frugalitee and  
temperance in his owne familie: fi-  
nally in oppression and crueltie to  
his tenants and libertines. Ad-  
dyng therunto, that the Emperours  
p maistee



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maiestee was informed, that **Geminus** in all the saide poinctes was greivouslie noted, whiche beyng sufficiently proued against hym, his punishment should be to all other men a dreadfull example, wherby poore men should afterwarde liue in the more suretee, and out of the danger of cruell afflictions. Every one that was examined aparte, freely without alteration of wordes affirmed, that **Geminus** was a man of great honestee, & that they did neuer suspect his faith of allegiance, although he repaired sometime to **Eninius**, whan he sojourned nigh to him, which he seemed rather to doe for the honouring of **Eninius** dignitee, than for any speciall affection that he had towarde hym, considering that they were mooste vnlike of conditions. For **Eninius** was proud, ambitiousse, and prodigall: **Geminus** was gentill, moderate in lyuing, and temperate in spendyng. The other was almost ignorant of letters, delighting in riotte and lecherie: this man well learned, and hauyng his principall pleasure in readyng or wryting.

So

So diuerſe condicions coulde neuer  
ioygne hertes in a ſeruent affection.  
Nor coulde they coulde neuer perceiue,  
that Geminus at any time praiſed O-  
minius, otherwiſe than is the general  
praiſe geuen to men in auctoritee, cal-  
lyng hym honourable.

¶ Concerning iuſtice and equitee, theſe  
ſaide that therein he was euer founde  
notable exact, in ſo muche as by kee-  
pyng his promiſe and touche, he ſu-  
ſtained oftentimes no little detrimēt.

¶ Alſo he remitted oftentimes a good  
parte of his dutie, whiche the lawes  
gaue hym : ſometime of gentleneſſe,  
ſometime meued with the perſons ne-  
ceſſitee. The meſurable fare and  
good order of his familie, was to all  
his neighbours an excellent paterne.  
To his tenants and libertines at his  
firſt comminge he was of muche affa-  
bilitee, but after he perceiued by the  
antiente tables and monumentes  
beelongynge vnto his patrimonie,  
that his libertines hadde withdra-  
wen ſome part of theyr ſeruices, and  
craftily interlaced his dominical lan-  
des with their ſeuile poſſeſſions, he

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first assayed to perswade them to restore vnto him his enheritaunce, offering to remitte vnto the their wzongfull intrusions, with all the profites, whiche they had thereof receiued, if they would willingly departe frome that, whiche by iustice they mought not kepe from him: but they little regarding his honest request, obstinately denyed to leaue the possession of those landes, which they had so long occupied: and became in all theyr acttes toward him surdy and malapert wherwith beyng displeasantly meeued, he with his household seruantes and frendes expelled them from the possession of suche landes as they wzongfully occupied: wherwith they beyng exasperate, and desirous to be reuenged (supposing that if they complained to the Sire, the truth shortly appering vnto him, they should nothing preuaile, but be for ever excluded fro their vniuste occupation) they conspiryng together went vnto two gentlemen dwelling herby, the one called Duillius, the other Cotta, who alwai had enite at Marcus Geminus and



and mought not sustein his commendacion, but vsed to speake reprochfully of him. Whan they had hearde what the libertines purposed, they exceedingly reioyced therat, and gaue to them not only comforte in their proceedings, but also summes of money towarde theyr charges, with secrete letters vnto theyr friends and acquaintaunce in the citee of Rome, desiring them to assist and solicite the cause of the libertines.

¶ They sayd moreouer, that there remained yet in the towne of Geminus, as well libertines as men free of condicion, his tenauntes, whiche beyng of a more honest nature, and perswaded at the first with the vnrasonable request of theyr lord, woulde by no meanes consent vnto the conspiracie, not withstanding that they were therunto pleased, as well by the said gentlemen as by the libertines. Whiche persons they thought expedient to be also examined. That heiring the Pretor, comendyng theyr truthe and modestie, he depeached those deponentes for that time, commaundyng them to

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kepe all thyng secreete: and immediatly he sent for the saide residue of the tenaunces and libertines of Marcus Geminus: Who beyng likewise examined in all and euery thyng agreed with the first witnesses.

¶ Then Triphonius incontinent caused horses to be prouided, and those persons without any longer abode, to be conueighed to Rome with his letters vnto the Emperour, conteigning the true reporte of the saide examinations: whiche letters the Emperour reading him selfe, commaunded that those men, whiche were come to the citee, should be forthwith brought to his presence, in most secreete wise, whiche was perfourmed.

¶ Then the Emperour calling to hym Alpius, Caelius, Paulus, & Sabinius, who at that time were in the palace, he commaunded the saide persons to be brought forth, and hym selfe demaundyng lyke questions of them, as Triphonius had dooen, but in an other order and facion, he founde their woordes in euery condicion like as they had deposed, saying that they  
there

therunto added, that the cōplainers  
 befoze their departing, and after that  
 they were come frō Duillius and Cotta,  
 had impoꝛtunately desired these  
 men to goe with theim, sayinge: that  
 they nothyng doubted, but that Ber-  
 minus at the least should lose his head  
 and that they foꝛ their travels should  
 haue his goodes, oꝛ a good part ther-  
 of deuided among thē: and that Duil-  
 lius and Cotta trusted to haue his lan-  
 des by gifte oꝛ by purchase. That he-  
 ring the emperour: with visage infla-  
 med, & eyes sparkeling as fire, braste  
 out in these wooꝛdes folowynge.

**T**he villain nature bestiall and mon-  
 struouse. O cruell ennie foule and  
 maliciouse, the one neuer vanquished  
 with gentilnesse, the other neuer con-  
 tented with vertue and sobzenesse.

Howe often haue wyse men been by  
 suche falshode deluded, Emperours,  
 kynges, and other Potentates by  
 suche serpentes abused, iustice oppres-  
 sed, mercie sklaundered, good people  
 destroyed, false harlottes aduanced?  
 Godde foꝛbydde that I should liue  
 emperour of Rome, if I would not see



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Order.

this enormitee punished, whereby all  
publyke weales may be shortly sub-  
uerred. For where order fayleth, obe-  
dience decayeth, boldnesse increaseth,  
deceit escapeth, iniury preuaileth, a-  
narchie corrupteth, the state of a weale  
publyke soon after perissheth. When  
he had sayde thus: he commendynge  
the truth and sinceritee of them, whi-  
che had spokē, commanded that they  
shoulde remaine still in his palace in  
a place secret, untill it were his plea-  
sure for to call for them. Then cau-  
sed he to be published throughout the  
citee, that Marcus Seminus was like  
ly shortly to be condemned. Whiche  
being comen to the eares of his accu-  
sers, they replenished with ioye, ro-  
med about the citee, embracing their  
friendes and confederates, with mu-  
tuall congratulations, makynge ban-  
kettes one to an other, for exceeding  
ioye forgettyng to slepe, but passed  
foorth the nyghtes in drynking and  
singing, and deuilyng tormentes for  
Marcus Seminus. Of all this herde  
the emperor, who dissembled his an-  
gre, albeit he had no lesse sollicitude,

in prouidyng the meanes howe they  
mischiefe and falshode mought be in  
suche wyse corrected, as good men  
mought be free from suche perilles,  
and the example mought bitterlye  
drowne the malyce of wretches.

As soone as Duillius and Corra, had  
hearde of the byrte of the condemna-  
cion of Geminus, with all spede they  
bothe came vnto Rome, byrnyng  
with theim greare presentes to geue  
vnto suche as were nyghe about the  
emperour, to the intent that they by  
theyr meanes mought attayne to the  
possessions of Geminus. But these  
noble men, vnto whom they offered  
to geue the sayde presentes, refused  
to take them, fearyng the empe-  
rours seueritee. As soone as the em-  
perour had hearde of the comynge  
of Duillius and Corra, he sente for  
them, and in the presence of dyuers  
Senatours, after he had taken them  
by the handes, with a familiar coun-  
tenaunce, he dissembled to theym,  
that he was muche greued with the  
vnyndenesse of Geminus, towarde  
his person, and also his oppressions  
and

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and iniuries towarde his libertines and tenants. With that Duillius & Corta beeynge muche comforted toward their purpose, to aggravate the complaints againste Geminus, and sempyng to doe well, dispreised the rigorous tyrannie of Geminus, and commended the simplicitie of his libertines, saying, that they would not so sone haue complained on Geminus, if they had not ben by them vehemently stirred and prouoked therto.

**A**fter that the emperour had ben a while in a studie, as it were to save some thyng against Geminus, at the laste with a familiar bysage, he saide vnto them: we haue knowen, in how muche detestacion I haue alway had the oppression of innocentes, the iniuries dooen with extreme malyce and violence: And yet notwithstandinge the sharpe corrections, whiche haue been executed agaynst suche malefactours, as well by auncient lawes of this citee as by our owne decrees and ordinaunces, yet as it seemeth, that pestilence in the weale publyke ceaseth not. Wherefore we wote  
wote



woulde, that some newe and straunge  
correction were deuised for Geminus  
whiche should be suche as to all men  
of euery degree, mought be the moste  
featefull example to offende in lyke  
condicion. And as touchynge the of-  
fence towarde me, I shall holde me  
content with the iudgement, whiche  
the lawes haue prouyded. And more  
ouer to the intent that men shall per-  
ceiue, howe muche we fauoure theim  
that dooe support trewe men againste  
tyrannes, I wolde that some reward  
were also deuysed for suche suppoz-  
ters, equall and conuenient vnto their  
merites. And heerein wyl we fynde  
here your sentences, for as muche as  
ye dooe seeme to be men of zeale. And  
are reported to be wise men and poliz-  
like about your affaires. Wherefore  
we entende to haue of you better ac-  
quaintaunce, that the publyke weale  
by you may be amended. These wor-  
des of the emperour Duillius and Co-  
ta toke to be al for their benefite, and  
thinkyng that thei had good oportu-  
nities offred theim to achue theyr de-  
sire, thinkyng that the more sharpe  
and behement punishment they dyd

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Deuise for Marcus Geminus, the better it shoulde content the mynd of the emperour.

**F**irst Duilius, forgetting him self with face all inflamed with malice, declared his sentence in this wyse.

**F**orasmuche as the emperour had referred the offence committed against his maiestee, to the iudgement of the lawes ciuile, (albeit that such punishment were insufficente for such a traitour as Geminus was) concerning his oppression of innocentes, his correction mought bee no lesse, than that he being all naked, should by his libertines be syst of all whynned throughout the citee of Rome, with whippes full of Ruelles, called Scorpions, and afterwarde his nose and eares being cutte of, so with reproches to be conueyghed vnto the towne of his habitacion, and there to be cksones whynned by all his libertines: and from thens to be caried into the Isles called Rebrides, and neuer to retourne into Italie. His childerne also to be banished for euer out of that territory: Restitucion also to be

be made to the libertines of all that  
whiche was bereft theim. As concer-  
nyng the residue, they whiche were  
accusers of traitours and supporters  
of the same accusers, should haue de-  
uyded amonge theim, the one halfe  
deale of their goodes and possessions:  
so that the one halfe thereof shoulde  
be to the accusers, the other halfe to  
the supporters of theim, the other  
halfe deale of the whole shulde be con-  
fiscate to the emperours treasure.

Cotta agreed in every thing with Du-  
illius, saving the deforming of Gemi-  
nus, and banishment of his children,  
saying, that therein was to great a vi-  
sage of crueltie. In the disposition of  
the goodes and possessions, he added  
vnto the sentence of Duillius, that if  
the accuser or supporter were a bond-  
man or libertine, he shoulde haue no  
part of the possessions, but onely the  
fourth part of the moueables: in the  
residue he agreed with Duillius.

¶ When they had spoken, the emper-  
our and other that were with hym,  
seemed to commend their zelous affec-  
tion: and the emperour finding occas-  
sion



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sion by the lacke of time, and that his supper, abode than for hym, dyd depart from them, saying that he wold aduylse hym on theyr wise counsailes, and licenced them to departe with a familiar becke. Who beeyng retourned to theyr lodgynge, and sending for the libertines and other of theyr acquaintance: after that they had declared what they had spoke, and how nigh the confusion of Serninus did approche, and what trust they had to enjoy his goodes and possessions: there was made amonge them ioye without measure, with reuell and banquettinge, so that the report thereof came to the eares of the emperoure, and of all the Senate, whiche remained in a great expectation of the emperours iudgement.

¶ Afterwarde the Emperour commaunded his place of astate to be made ready in the Theatree of Pompei, that the people of Rome shoulde be summoned to be ready there the thyrde daye folowynge: whiche was accomplished. And the emperour beeynge set with his noble counsaylours with hym

him, he commanded, that as wel the libertines, as Duillius & Cotta Gulde prepare them to the accusacion of Geminus, who came into the place, bring-  
 ing with them one Rutilius Lupus, a subtile Rhetorician, to be their ad-  
 vocate. But Geminus onely trustyng on his owne conscience, refused to  
 haue any other patrone, than the true  
 examinacion and iustice of the Empe-  
 rour and other whiche were his iud-  
 ges. And the emperour was therewith  
 right well contented, cōsidering that  
 the time of the controuersie should be  
 made thereby the shorter.

¶ First Lupus began his oraciō with  
 a great praise of the Emperours vert-  
 ues, whiche the emperour in no wise  
 susteynyng, but beyng therewith offen-  
 ded, interpellled Lupus, and command-  
 ed hym to enter into his narracion,  
 and to declare immediately the state  
 of the matter conueigned in the com-  
 playnte of the Libertines. Then  
 Lupus beyng partly abashed, for  
 as muche as his beginnyng was to  
 make the emperour and hearers bene-  
 uolent towarde the libertines, and to  
 make

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make the cause against Geminus to seeme moze greuous, he coldly entred into the matter, and generally obiected against Marcus Geminus his familiar resort vnto Oninius Camillus befoze that he was detected of treason. And therunto brought in for witnesses Duillius and Corra, whom he called men of great worship: Geminus speakyng yet nothyng, nor chaungeyng his countenance: Duillius and Corra, by to muche malice and couetise, forgettyng them selves, pleased foozly and said, that they had oftentimes seen Geminus, not only at supper with Oninius in the tyme of his conspiracie, but also talkynge familiarly and secretly with hym.

¶ Therwith the Emperour takynge occasion, demaunded of theim, what it was that Geminus spake to Oninius. They said, they wist not, for they stode farre from theim, and mought not here theim. The Emperour demaunded, if they dyd see whan Geminus came and departed. They answered, that for the moze parte they came befoze hym, and abode longe af-



ter him. He asked mozeouer, In what  
fourme Geminus departed from Oni-  
nius. They sayde, for the moze part  
with no pleasaunt countenance of the  
one or the other. The emperour as-  
ked, if Geminus were desired by Oni-  
nius to come: or if he came to him vn-  
sent for. They sayde, they coulde not  
remember, but that Oninius sent al-  
way a seruaunt for Geminus. The  
Emperour demaunded, if he did like  
wise with them. They answered, no.  
The Emperour immediately sent for  
Oninius, who being reconsiled to the  
Emperour, was than in the Senate,  
and for Carnilius his seruaunte, who  
had detected his treason: and in the  
meane time the emperour tourned him  
vnto Geminus & said, that if he were  
the manne that he shewed to bee, he  
woulde lasse esteeme death than the  
losse of his credence, and that for his  
parte he moze esteemed the confession  
of trueth, than the auengeyng of his  
displeasure.

**¶** Wherefore he charged hym vppon  
the saythe of an honest manne, to tell  
plainely, whereof was the commu-  
nicatio

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alcacion betwene hym and Oninius,  
Geminus answered, that the first ac-  
cesse that he had to hym was volun-  
tarie and vnsente for, onely to salute  
him, because he was a Senatour, and  
in great estimation, not knowyng any  
thyng of his traiterous affection:  
But perceyvinge his qualitees, and  
naturall appetites not to be agreable  
to his opinion and studie, he ceased  
to come, vntill he was desired of Oni-  
nius: whiche as he after perceyved,  
was for his incommodie. For Oni-  
nius despyred of hym a mansion place,  
whiche he had ioygnyng to the gar-  
dens of Nero: frome the whiche he  
would in no wise depart. Al be it of-  
ten and sundry times Oninius set for  
him, and as well by offeryng greate  
sommes of money and frendshyp, as  
sometyme by menaces, he assaied to  
get of him the house, but laste of all  
he thretted him, that hauing al thing  
at commaundement, as he doubted  
not but that he shoulde see it come to  
pa. Te shortly, he wo uld leaue him ney-  
ther house nor life.

¶ With the whiche woordes Gemi-  
nus

hus sayde, that he was astonied,  
and so departed with his displea-  
sure. But yet not thynkyng, that  
Oninius intended any conspiracie,  
cōsyderinge that he was alied vn-  
to the Emperour, and was by hym ad-  
uanced vnto great richesse.

¶ Thus ceased Geminus to speake  
any moze. And by that tyme Carilli-  
us was comen, who beeyng demaun-  
ded, what acquaintance he hadde  
known to bee betwene Oninius and  
Marcus Geminus: he aunswered,  
that he knewe none acquaintance  
betwene them, but that oftentimes  
he had heard Oninius his maister say  
to his secreete friends, after that he  
hadde a longe tyme talked with Ge-  
minus, that he was a surdite and ob-  
stinate person, and woulde not con-  
fourme hym to his requestes, concer-  
nyng a house, whiche he had nyghe  
to the citee, wherefoze yf he mought  
byng his purposes to passe he wold  
leau hym neyther house nor heade  
on his shouldeers.

The Emperour demaunded, if Gemi-  
nus were any of theym that Oninius



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counsayled with concernyng his cons-  
piracie. Therat smiled Carnilius and  
saide, that Oninius euer had hym in  
so muche reputacion: for he neuer este-  
med hym to bee moſte vnapt to any  
ſuche practiſe.

¶ Than came in Oninius, and the em-  
perour commaunding him, ſat downe  
by hym. And theemperour asked hym,  
if he knew Marcus Geminus. And he  
fearyng, that he had complayned of  
him, bluſked, and ſaid, that he could  
neuer find kindneſſe in him, and that  
his nature was ouerthwarte and al-  
way againſt his deſires. Wherefore  
he deſpyed the Emperour not to geue  
to muche credence vnto hym in ſuche  
thinges as he complayned of hym, o-  
ther than touchyng the requere made  
for his houſe in the citee, whiche he  
confelled to haue deſired importunat-  
ly, and for that cauſe onely had often  
times conuented him whan he repay-  
red into that countrey. The Emper-  
our with that aunſwere was well  
contented, and demaunded, if he had  
any better opinion of Duillius & Cotta.  
He ſaide, that they were of an o-  
ther

ether sozte, and moze confozmable vnto his appetite. Thereat the Emperour laughed in his herte (as he after declared vnto his familiers) marking the folly aswell of Duillius and Cotta, as of Oninius Camillus, which vnatwares had disclosed their secreete affections, and declared the innocencie of Marcus Geminus. And licensing Oninius to retourne to the Senate, he commaunded Lupus to resort to the residue of the accusation of Geminus: who partely beyng discouraged, with a weake eloquence alleged the iniurie and cruell oppression of Geminus, extended vnto his tenauntes, takyng from theim theyr auncient possessions, and annexing them to his dominicall landes.

¶ Therewith Geminus beyng somewhat meued, plainely denyed, that it was theyr auncient possessions, but affirmed that it were his proper dominicall landes, whiche betwene the deathe of his vnkle and his entrie, they had vniustly vsurped and falsely conceled.

¶ Wherefoze not onely he by the

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lathe mought iustely expulse theym from that, which they vnlesfully occupied, but also by theyr ingratitude they had forfayted theyr manumissions, and consequently the landes geuen to them by his auncesters of good right ought to resorte elsowes to his possessions. This heringe the emperor, he demaunded of the complainantes, of what state and condicion they wer. They all confessed to bee the libertines of Marcus Geminus, and that in the landes as they had, were seruaile, as for the whiche they were bounden to certaine obseruaunces. But they playnely denyed, that they had forfayted any thyng, and with great exclamacions, and out of order cryed out on Geminus.

¶ Than commaunded the emperor, that the gentilmen and residue of the libertines and tenaunces, sent by Triphonius, should be brought in, who being in likewise examined, declared openly the stealing of Geminus dominicall landes, by the saide libertines, whiche were accusers, the contraccion of theim to the destruction of Geminus,



minur, their priuie sollicitacion of o-  
ther, the malicious suppoztynge of  
Duillius and Cotta, with their secrete  
conferacijs, and all other thynges  
as befoze they had shewed to the Em-  
perour at home in his palaice: whiche  
as well the accusers as Duillius and  
Cotta, heryng disclosed contrarie to  
their expectations, they all were con-  
founded, and in their amased coun-  
saunce sodeine and scilencie, semed to  
the emperour, and all that were pre-  
sent, to confesse their vnt ruth and ma-  
lice. And therwith Cotta, fearing the  
emperours Seruicree: fel on his knees  
and besought the emperour to pardon  
him, and likewise desired Geminus to  
forgeue him his malice, confessyng all  
to be true, which was now spoken on  
his behalf. Herwith the emperour was  
feruently stirred with displeasure to-  
warde the accusers: after that he  
hadde spoken with the residue of the  
iudges, he gaue sentēce in this wise.  
¶ For as much as it appeareth vnto  
vs, that thou Marcus Geminus art  
innocente of that treason, whiche  
thy cruel libertines, with the suppozt-

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faction of Duillius & Cotta haue falsly accused the of, we declare the to be a true gentilman, loyall to the weale publike and maiestie imperiall : and denounce vnto all men, that none bee so hardie to renewe this suspicpon, wherof thou art purged : And for thy pacience, wisdomie, and temperance we deeme the worthy to bee admitted into the colledge of Senatours.

**T**han theemperour tournynge hym to the libertines, said : ye villaine generation, full of pestiferous malyce, rude and mooste beastiall of nature, boyde of all courtesie, false and deceiptfull towarde your soueraigne, cruell and vengeable against Iustyce and reason: For as muche as ye, with all your wyll and puiſſaunce haue in: deuozed your selves by your false accusation, not only to haue brought to a shamefull death Marcus Seminus your naturall lord, a true and innocent gentilman, and a necessary membre of the weale publyke, which if it had hapned, therof shulde haue succeeded vnto the weale publike, notable damage, and to our person perpetuall reproche

reproche and burden vnto our consci-  
ence: We therfore iudge you all wor-  
thy no lesse to suffer thā Duillius one  
of your capitaines gaue in his sen-  
tence at home in our palaice agaynst  
Marcus Geminus. That first ye shall  
be whynned throughe out the citee  
with Scorpions, and than your noses  
and eares to be cutte of, and so to be  
brought into Campania, and there to  
be esclones whynned in euery towne,  
and last of al, to be hanged in chaines  
on high gibettes, as ye be. xvi. in num-  
bre, in. xvi. of the greatest townes of  
that countrey, and that your children  
shall lose the priuilege of the manu-  
mission of you and your auncestours:  
and that none of your bloude be from  
hencefoorth manumysed by any Cons-  
ull or Pretor.

¶ Moreover your possessions whol-  
ly to remayne to Marcus Geminus,  
your moueables by the consent of Ge-  
minus, (wherunto we exhorte hym) to  
be equally deuyded and geuen to his  
other tenants and libertines, whiche  
refused to be consenying or partie to  
your proceedings.

b

Than



## IMAGE OF

**T**hen looked he on Duillius & Cotta, & fyrst sayd to Duillius. Thou detestable serpente of villaine progenie, which nature in thee neyther mought bee subdued with auctozite, nor altered with rycheffe, for as muche as by enuie onely thou haste maligned a gainste Marcus Geminus, and with all thy power haste supported his libertines, to accuse hym most falsely of treason: And mozeouer thy selfe hast in suche wyse appeched him, that in thine owne woordes it appeareth, that thou were of a moze familiar resort vnto Oninius thā Geminus was and by Oninius confession moze conformable vnto his appetite. And what is declared by those woordes, but thou and Cotta were consenting vnto the conspiracie? Thou shalt therefore receiue thyne owne iudgement, whiche thou wouldeste haue geuen on Marcus Geminus, that is to saye, thou shalt be disgraced of all honour, and despoiled of thy garmentes in the middell of this citee: And from thence whipped with Scozpions vnto the high way called Via Appia.

And

And from thence thou shalt be caried  
vnto Tarentum, and being there es-  
capes whipped, thou shalt be rendred  
with thy chyldren in seruitude to  
Marcus Geminus. And all thy pos-  
sessions to remayne for euer to hym  
and his heyres.

And as to thee Cotta, although thou  
hast despyed pardone, yet for asmuch  
as thou hast polluted the noble and  
auncient bloudde, whereof thou car-  
rest, imbracyng vyllaine condicions,  
and chosynge rather to bee confede-  
rate with vyllaynes and maliciose  
wretches, than to fauour vertue and  
Justice, it were not expedient that  
thou shouldest be so pardoned, that  
thou shouldest cleerely escape with-  
out punishmente, specially consyde-  
ryng, that thy nobilitie was a cause  
that Geminus was muche more sus-  
pected, than if thou hadst not ioyg-  
ned thy selfe with his libertines.

Thou shalt therfore susteyne parte of  
thine owne iudgemente, whiche thou  
wouldest haue geuen on Geminus, that  
is to saye, thou shalt forthwith lose  
all thy monables, whiche also with  
the

## IMAGE OF

the goodes of Duilius shalbe equally parted, the one halfe to be brought into the common treasure, the other halfe to be geuen indifferently among those gentlemen, whiche honestly haue declared vnto vs the innocencie of Marcus Sernius. And as for thy landes, during thy lyfe to be confiscate, afterwarde to retourne to thine heires. Moreover that thou thy selfe shalte neuer retourne into Campania, but remayne still here in this citie, except we vpon other considerations hereafter mouyng vs, shall clerely pardon thee.

**T**his was the ende of the Emperours sentence. Wherewith all the people reioyced, and cryed with one voice: Happye is Rome that hath suche a gouernour, happye is the worlde, that it hath suche an emperor, but moste happye are we that haue suche a father. Thy noble Alexander, for the goddess dooe fauour thee, all princes doe honour thee, all yll men doe dreade thee, all good men loue thee. Live and prosper most excellent emperor,

with



**T** With these and other most ioyous acclamations, the Emperour issued out of the Theatre, and departed towarde his palace, hauinge with him Marcus Geminus, al the streetes beyng full of men, women, and chyl- dzen, casting befoze him innumerable roses and other swete floures. The next daye was the Emperours iudge- ment put in execution, and Geminus admitted into the Senate.

**T** This was the laste iudgement that the emperour gaue openly in his owne person, diuerse other iudgements he gaue, whiche were in tables accor- dyng as other emperours vsed to do.

**H**itherto is the repozte of Eucolpi- us, muche more he wzate, as it semed for diuers quaites lacked in the boke. Wherfoze to make some perfecte con- clusion, I toke the residue out of o- ther, whiche wzate also the life of this emperour,

**Herco:**

## I M A G E O F

**H**erodianus a Greeke authour,  
writeth, that the iourney made  
against Artaxerxes, the kynge  
of Persia, was lost through the slack-  
nesse of Alexander, whom he suppos-  
eth to be retained from his enterprize  
by his mother Mammaea: Who wold  
not lette hir sonne ieoparde his per-  
sone against the Persians: but Lam-  
pidius, who gathered his worke out  
of the booke of Accolius and Eucol-  
pius, who were alway in companie  
with the emperour Alexander, wy-  
teth in this wyse: He breyng such an  
emperour in his house and abode, he  
enterprysed the iourney of Parthia,  
wherunto he prepared all thynges,  
with suche discipline and reuerence  
aboute his owne persone, that it  
mought be sayde, that Senatours  
went, and not souldiours. Where  
so euer the hoste was, the chiefe cap-  
taynes were circumspecte, the capi-  
taines honest, the souldiours belo-  
ued. And therefore the inhabitantes  
of countreys receiued hym as God.  
The men of warre loued the younge  
emperour as theyr brother, their son,  
and

and their father. They were honeste-  
ly cladde, conueniently hosed, and  
shodde, richely armed, veryll wel hor-  
sed, with harneys and byddelles ac-  
cordyngly trimmed, that he whiche  
behelde the emperours army, shoulde  
haue perceiued the state of the weale  
publyke. He hym selfe labored to be  
iudged woorthy to haue the name of  
Alexander, and to surmounte hym of  
Macedone. In suche fourme he went  
into Persia, and vanquished king Ar-  
taxerxes, who came agaynst hym  
with seuen hundred Elephantes bea-  
rynge on theyr backs towres of  
woodde, full of archers and artillery.  
Also a thousande and fiue hundred  
chariottes, armed with sithes, and  
people innumerable. And after-  
warde Alexander retourned vnto the  
citee of Antioche, and with the pray  
that he toke of the Persians, he made  
all his men of warre riche.

Than fyrst beganne Persians, to be  
slaves to the Romaynes. But  
because the kynges of Persia dooe  
disdigne, that anye of theyr peo-  
ple shall lyue in seruitude, he was  
content



## IMAGE OF

content, that they shulde be redeemed : the money beyng geuen to them, whiche toke them prisoners : Beyng returned to Rome, was conueighed vnto his palaice with all the Senators, gentlemen & people, the wiues and chidren of his souldiours enuyronyng hym, and his triumphall chariot folowyng hym, beyng drawn with foure great Elephanes. And entryng into his palaice, he was lifte vp with the handes of the people, so that during the space of foure houres he mought not walke on his feete, al the people cryenge aboute. Nowe is Rome saufe, for Alexander is saufely returned.

**A**fterwarde he liued in moste tender loue of the people and Senate : but at the laste the Germanes, wastying and destroying the countrey, he beyng ahamed, that the Parthians, nowe beyng vainquished, that nation should please so nigh to the heade of the weale publike, whiche people were subdued by petite Emperours : he prepared his boiage towarde the, and departed against al mens willes,  
swere

every man bringynge hym a hundred  
and fift'e myles on his waye, with  
hope of victorie, and soone retourne  
to the citee: but beeynge in fraunce, &  
findyng the legions seditious, he com-  
manded them to be reiected. By whi-  
che occasion the frenche mennes sto-  
makes, as they bee alway obstinate &  
frowarde, and oftentymes displeant  
unto the emperours, wolde not suffre  
any longer his rigorous grauntee.

Wherfore certaine souldiours, whi-  
che were enryched by Heliogabalus,  
by the comfort and ayde of that mon-  
struous muilettour Maximus, whom  
they made afterwarde emperour, they  
sodeinly entryng into the pavilion of  
Alexander, slewe bothe hym and his  
mother, he nothyng fearyng theyr ma-  
lyce,

¶ Other opinions there bee of his  
deathe. Finally the rage of vntyfe-  
ry persons, whiche mought not su-  
staine his excellent vertues, trayte-  
roussly slewe this most noble emper-  
our: Whose death all Rome lament-  
ed, all good men bewayled, all the

A a

wolde

## IMAGE OF

world repented, whom the Senate  
desired, noble fame renowned, all wise  
men honoured, noble wylkes com-  
mended, whose lyfe maye worthily  
be a paterne to knyghtes, an example  
to iudges, a myrrour to princes, a  
beutifull image to all them that  
are lyke to be gouernours:

Wherby they maye haue  
in continuall remem-  
brance, to imbrace  
and folowe his  
moste excel-  
lent qua-  
lities.



FINIS.



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**speedy fyndyng of the speciall**  
**thynges contayned in**  
**this booke.**



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